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Class No.....082

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# SPEECHES

BY

## LORD CHELMSFORD

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.



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—  
1918—21.  
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## MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT DELHI.

The first meeting of the cold weather session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held at Delhi on the forenoon of the 6th February 1918. February, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. The visitors' galleries were full to overflowing, among those present being Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Donoughmore, Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. B. N. Basu, Sir William Vincent, and a large number of ladies. His Highness the Jam Sahib of Jamnagar was also present. Nearly all the Members of the Council were present. (?) His Excellency having taken his seat, the following Members took the oath of allegiance :—Mr. P. J. Fagan, Mr. G. S. Khaparde, Sir Robert Clegg, Mr. A. W. Botham, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, Sir John Campbell, Mr. S. R. Hignell, Mr. A. H. Ley, Surgeon-General Edwards, and Sir Alfred Grant.

The Viceroy, addressing the Council, said :—

I extend a warm welcome to Hon'ble Members now entering on their labours here in another session.

It is with regret that at the very outset of your deliberations I find myself constrained to refer to a very painful topic. It is however impossible to pass over without a word the gross outrage so recently perpetrated upon the peaceful

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Moslem population of Shahabad and certain neighbouring areas. I speak not only for myself but for the Government of Bihar and the Government of India, and I am sure that I carry with me the whole of my Council and I hope the great mass of Hindu opinion as well, when I say that those outraged people have our profound sympathy. The Local Government are doing their best to bring the culprits to justice without delay; they are pushing on their investigations regarding compensation as quickly as possible, and taking measures to strengthen the police. But I cannot conceal from myself that it must take time to soothe the sore and injured feelings produced by these events, and I can only hope that the leaders of both communities will continue the efforts which I am glad to see that some of them have been making to heal these wounds as speedily as possible.

I know well that the question at issue in these disturbances is linked with unhappy memories of hatred and violence; but India has long since advanced beyond the stage when the appeal in such matters lies to the discreditable agency of brute force. In these days, recognised leaders stand forth who are capable of influencing the masses of their fellow-countrymen, and surely it is not too much to hope that, on their initiative and through their guidance, methods may be devised to prevent a recurrence of these regrettable incidents.

And now I gladly turn from that subject to those questions with which it is customary for me to deal when we first meet in session.

There is one matter involving a change in the procedure in the discussion of our Financial Statement to which I should

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first like to invite the attention of Hon'ble Members. As they are aware the present system is that the Financial Statement is introduced without any general discussion on its proposals. Hon'ble Members of course have power to move Resolutions on what are known as the first and second stages of the discussion, but there is no general discussion on the financial policy of my Government until the Financial Statement reappears as the Budget, when financial proposals are presented to Council in their final shape at the end of the session. I think there has been a general feeling that this system, which is rendered necessary by the existing rules, is unsatisfactory, as on the one hand we have not the advantage of a free interchange of views as to our general policy at the time when this would be most valuable to us, and on the other hand Hon'ble Members are certainly handicapped in dealing with our Budget proposals, especially where legislation is involved. For on a Bill, only those matters which arise directly out of the proposed legislation can be brought up for discussion, and, when once the Bill has been passed, a discussion at the end of the session must largely be infructuous and academic. Accordingly we addressed the Secretary of State last November proposing certain amendments in our rules for the discussion of the annual Financial Statement, and we have recently received his sanction to our proposals. The necessary amendments will be notified in the Gazette in due course and will be in your hands very shortly. But I may explain briefly for the information of Hon'ble Members that the main changes we propose are that, after the Financial Statement has been introduced in accordance with our present practice, its further consideration shall be postponed for some days in order that Members may have an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with its contents,



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which is not always an easy task. On the appointed day, which this year will be the 8th of March, we shall proceed to a general discussion of the Financial Statement. This discussion will take the place of the Budget discussion at the end of the session, which, as I think Hon'ble Members will recognise, has not been very profitable. Members will be at liberty to offer any observations on the statement as a whole or on any question of principle involved therein. After this general discussion has terminated, we shall proceed to the second and third stages of the discussion of the Financial Statement, which will represent what are under the existing rules called the first and second stages, and at these stages Members will be at liberty to move Resolutions in the same manner and to the same extent as is permissible under the existing rules. The Budget will be laid before the Council at a subsequent date when the Hon'ble Finance Member will explain the changes he has made with reference to the opinions expressed by the Council or on the basis of later figures, but there will then be no discussion. To this extent the existing procedure must be maintained. Hon'ble Members will, I hope, agree that we have endeavoured to give them a system which provides a more effective and satisfactory method of bringing forward their criticisms and suggestions regarding our policy at a stage when that policy has not been cast into final shape.

Certain further changes will also, I think, be necessitated by this revision of the existing system. As Hon'ble Members are aware, it is our present practice when new taxation is imposed to proceed immediately after the Financial Statement has been introduced with any Bills that may be proposed for additional taxation. This is, as Hon'ble

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Members will readily understand, necessary for obvious reasons. But if a period for consideration and discussion is to be interposed, it will be equally necessary that any taxation Bills which may subsequently be introduced should, if and when passed, be made to relate back to the date of their original announcement. It is of course only on this understanding that the present somewhat inconvenient procedure can be revised.

Let me now as usual summarise such of our departmental activities as are likely to be interesting to Hon'ble Members who have been out of direct touch with the working of Government since we last met. Special preoccupations outside the usual scope of our work we have had, as Hon'ble Members well know, and I shall be brief. But those special preoccupations have not interfered with departmental work; nor have the departments been allowed respite from the varying and heavy anxieties of the times we live in.

Since I last addressed you, one or two schemes of considerable commercial importance have been inaugurated. The position of the planting industries in India has for some time been causing me much anxiety. The provision of adequate tonnag. has become a chronic difficulty and I fear that we can hardly look forward with confidence to any possibility of increased supplies of freight in the year that is before us. The effect of this shortage has necessarily reacted most severely on the trade in certain commodities which are not held to be of essential national importance. But one of our great industries, the tea industry, can, I think, congratulate itself on the scheme which has recently been inaugurated for the purchase in India and Ceylon of the full civil and military requirements of the United Kingdom. We have

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appointed a Tea Commissioner who is engaged in purchasing for the Food Controller in the United Kingdom at rates which represent a reasonable amount of profit to tea gardens in this country. Under this scheme a market for at least a considerable proportion of the crop is assured, and I think I may safely say that the prospects of the tea industry, which during part of last year gave cause for anxiety, have now materially improved.

Our anxieties were at one time perhaps even more acute with regard to the disposal of the rice crop. These again arose out of the difficulties of securing freight. In October last a much larger proportion than usual of last year's crop remained to be shipped. The new crop which has just been harvested was at the same time expected to be abundant, and a very serious glut in the market seemed inevitable. Prices in Burma dropped to an exceptionally low level, and the position of the cultivators naturally gave the Local Government cause for the gravest anxiety. I was not slow to represent the difficulties of the situation to His Majesty's Government, and I am glad to think that we have now been able to initiate a scheme for the purchase of large quantities of rice monthly for the Royal Commission in England on behalf of the United Kingdom and our Allies. Prices have been fixed which will give a reasonable return alike to the cultivators and to the millers, and the control of purchases has been placed in the hands of a Rice Commissioner in Rangoon. In order to exercise effective control, it has been necessary to prohibit exports generally, but licenses will be given freely for export to many of the destinations which normally depend on India for supplies, provided that this can be done without interference with, or prejudice to, the requirements of the Royal Commission. I think that we have every reason to

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congratulate ourselves on this solution, of what at one time threatened to be a very grave difficulty indeed.

I come now to certain questions connected with coal production and railway traffic. The difficulty as regards coal production has throughout been one of labour, especially of skilled labour, and the difficulty has recently been greatly increased by a diversion of labour from the collieries producing the higher grades of coal to collieries and outcrop seams which only produce coal of a very inferior quality. This diversion it was necessary to check, both because the demands for better class coal on account of railways and the Indian Marine are large and must be met, and because the production of very inferior coal involves a large economic loss in transport and other directions. Power was taken accordingly, and placed in the hands of a Coal Controller in Calcutta, to restrict the working of low grade collieries, and under this power their production has been regulated in such a way as to prevent their interfering with collieries producing higher grades of coal. It is too soon to judge finally the results of this action, but it is hoped that it will improve the situation. In order to supplement the shortage of labour, an experiment has lately been carried out of employing Turkish prisoners at an outlying colliery, and, as more prisoners wish to be employed and those already at work seem anxious to learn the business of cutting coal, we propose to continue the experiment on a larger scale.

You will readily understand that the effect on our railways of the short production of coal was very serious. In the first place their own stocks of coal and those at the ports were reduced to a dangerously low level. Then, when the raisings of coal improved, the railways had to give all their

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energies to taking the coal through to its destination and to replenishing stocks. Further the demands of military and other essential traffic have been constantly increasing. Finally the difficulties on the North-Western Railway were aggravated by a serious outbreak of sickness, due to the unusually heavy rain in the Punjab. As a consequence it has been exceedingly difficult to maintain the services for passengers and goods. One very unfortunate result has been that it became necessary in view of the great *mela* which is being held at Allahabad to prohibit the sale of tickets to stations within a certain zone round that centre of pilgrimage. The occasion, I recognise, is one of special sanctity, and it was with the greatest reluctance that we decided on this action, but in view of the peremptory necessity of maintaining the coal and military traffic it is unavoidable, and to have done otherwise, might have led to disastrous results. I have given special attention to this matter of pilgrim traffic, and I deplore the fact that, owing to the necessities of the war, the railways are not in a position to provide full facilities for the purpose of a great religious festival, and I am glad that it has been found possible, in view of the special sanctity of February 11th, to remove the prohibition on the sale of tickets for Allahabad and the neighbourhood by the ordinary trains on February 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th.

I am afraid that in other directions also there has been a large interruption and dislocation of ordinary traffic. It is impossible under present conditions largely to increase the capacity of our railways. We can adopt and have adopted various expedients, such as the introduction of the train control system, and the multiplication of crossing stations, both of which help the capacity of the lines; we have taken

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steps to ensure that the maximum use is made of the rolling-stock and to conserve the engine power. The success attained by the railways of India in carrying an enormously increased traffic, without substantial additions to their lines or equipment, has in fact been remarkable. But inevitably there is a limit to their capacity. The essential traffic at the same time is constantly growing. To give you some idea of the bulk of this traffic I may mention that the single item of coal is estimated to absorb permanently 40,000 wagons or at least one-third of the whole supply of wagons in the country. And the more nearly the limit of capacity is approached, the more frequent must be the dislocations of traffic and the inconvenience and loss which result from them. The problem is engaging my earnest considerations and I trust we shall be able to find some methods of alleviating the position.

I am proud to think that we have given freely of our railway staff and our materials for the equipment of railways overseas in the interest of the Empire, and in this country we have subordinated other requirements to military needs. While no restriction has been imposed which was not dictated by considerations of our Imperial interests, no one regrets more than I do the inconvenience which has of necessity resulted ; but I hope and believe you will consider it a small thing when compared with the great causes involved in the present war.

We have been engaged in the struggle now for 3½ years. and hitherto India has not felt the burden and suffering which war brings into the houses of the poor with anything like the same severity as less favoured countries nearer the main theatres of operations. But the pinch is at last beginning to be felt, and one of the matters which has given my

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Government cause for the most anxious consideration has been the recent rise in the price of many of the necessities of life. I am not going to attempt to analyse here the various and complex causes, to which the general rise in prices is due. The rise has been world-wide, but I think you will not question me when I say that in respect of some articles (I am thinking at the moment particularly of salt) the market rates which have recently been prevalent have soared far higher than could be justified by economic circumstances. Salt and clothing are among the prime necessities of life, and the prices at which they have been sold have pressed with great hardship on the poorer classes in this country. The discontent and uneasiness to which this has given rise have resulted in several regrettable instances of lawlessness in parts of Bengal, Bombay, Bihar and Assam. The Local Governments have taken timely measures to police the affected areas, and the Government of India have endeavoured to grapple with the situation, so far as it is possible to deal with circumstances in which economic forces play the major part.

It will, I think, interest you to hear the steps which we have taken to alleviate the position. The high prices of salt were caused in their origin by the shortness of supplies from sources overseas, and speculators took advantage of the position. We are endeavouring both to secure an increased import of salt from abroad and to develop our internal resources as far as we possibly can. The output from the Khewra Mine is increasing month by month, and we hope that by the middle of April it will be double what it was in pre-war days. The powers which we took a year ago to provide local authorities with salt in priority over ordinary indents were calculated to ease the market and are now

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being freely used, but we have recently gone a good deal further than this. We have taken powers by Rules under the Defence of India Act to fix the prices of any commodities, the supply of which it is necessary to control in the interests of the public safety. It is obvious that the actual fixation of prices and the measures necessary to ensure adequate control must rest in the first instance with the Local Governments. We have addressed them on the subject and have already notified salt as a commodity, the supply of which it may be necessary to regulate. The control of prices in the case of cloth is obviously a question of much greater difficulty than in the case of salt, but we shall not shrink from any action which may be found, in consultation with Local Governments, to be both practicable and desirable.

May I add that we are always ready to listen to those who criticise our measures, and our Council is above all the place where such criticisms may legitimately be made. But I confidently look to Hon'ble Members, who know our practical difficulties and understand the grave needs of the time, to help us by instructing the general public as to the reasons underlying our action.

Having touched on these pressing questions of supply and demand which, though both difficult and acute, are merely questions of the moment for which altering circumstances must in course of time furnish an automatic solution, I will not dip further into industrial questions. Hon'ble Members know the high hopes I entertain of industry in India, and they may have noticed that at the opening of the recent Madras Industries Exhibition I dealt with the important subject of industrial development. I shall not revert to that topic to-day, but content myself with re-emphasising the fact that no reforms in India will achieve



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their purpose unless they have their counterpart in the industrial sphere. A great industrial advance, reacting strongly on social and educational conditions, is, I am convinced, a condition precedent to the full development of healthy political life in this country.

In the sphere of education we have to record an event of the greatest educational importance, namely, the meeting in November last of the Calcutta University Commission under Dr. Michael Sadler. The Commission, as you know, is composed of men of high repute, and we have never before had at our disposal in this country so distinguished and experienced a body of expert advisers on educational affairs. They have commenced their enquiries by the widest consultations of all classes of opinion and by diligent and unobtrusive personal observation of the conditions upon which they are to advise. I look with confidence to receiving from them during the summer of this year a report which will contain a useful exposition of the principles upon which University education should in future be conducted in Bengal, and I have little doubt that much of their advice will be of the greatest value in dealing with University questions in other provinces also.

Of education at the other end of the scale—of primary education—I made some mention in addressing you last September. I said that we were agreed that a definite advance must be made in this sphere, and that it was only the fact that there were other connected problems awaiting solution which prevented my giving an indication of the policy which we had in view on this most important question. The support of primary education is a function of local bodies

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and its extension is, in the main, an operation of finance. While, therefore, the future powers of local bodies and the future relations of local, provincial and Imperial finance are still undetermined, it is, as you will readily understand, a matter of no small difficulty to set forth a definite policy of future development for our primary schools, and it will be necessary for us to wait a little longer before we can take definite steps for the realisation of such a policy. In the meantime, we have determined to place no obstacle in the way of such local legislatures as may decide on any reasonable measures to forward the same end, whether those are the precise measures which we would ourselves be prepared to initiate or not. The last few months have accordingly seen the first beginnings of legislation to allow of compulsory education in this country. A private bill has been introduced and passed into law to admit of the adoption of compulsion by district municipalities in Bombay. Arrangements have been made for the introduction of similar bills in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa. The Punjab Government has drafted a bill dealing with the same subject on comprehensive lines and has published it for criticism. I need hardly say that I shall watch with deep interest the use which local bodies make of the powers conferred upon them by measures of this description.

In the cognate sphere of local self-government I desire to invite attention to an important move which has been made by Lord Ronaldshay's Government in Bengal. A bill has recently been introduced in that Presidency in which an attempt has been made to institute a general system of village government. The question is complicated in Bengal by the absence of real village units and the pre-existence of

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local Committees for dealing with watch and ward ; but, whatever the ultimate fate of the bill in its details may be, I cannot but welcome its preparation, as representing a bold and comprehensive effort to provide a code of rules for a difficult and little trodden field of administration, and as a step along one of those main lines of advance—detailed by me, as Hon'ble Members will recollect, in my opening speech at the September Session—which lead to the accepted goal of British Rule in India.

In accordance with my intention to be brief in surveying the departmental field, I shall not to-day touch on some important aspects of our general administration, but shall now turn to matters immediately connected with the war and our military administration.

Nearly a year has elapsed since the Indian Defence Force Act came into operation. As regards the European Branch of the Force, a very large measure of success has been achieved. The duty of military service has been undertaken by the European population of the country cheerfully and in a spirit of patriotism, and the Government of India gladly acknowledge the sacrifices which have been made by a community which has otherwise made large contributions to the fighting forces of the Empire, and is, in the pursuit of its civil avocations, working at high pressure with depleted staffs. The burden, the Government of India are well aware, has been particularly felt in the matter of raising the General Service Units, the formation of which for the time being was necessitated by the exigencies of the military situation, and they are grateful to the commercial community for the good spirit in which the obligation has been accepted. I am pleased to be able to announce that the

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reorganisation of the Armed Forces in India, in which the newly-constituted Indian Defence Force plays a considerable part, has enabled His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to dispense for the present with these units, which will be disbanded at an early date.

It is not necessary to explain that the obligation for general service when required remains unimpaired, and it will, as a matter of fact, be necessary, as an offset to the disbandment of the larger units, to maintain in certain places smaller units permanently embodied for the purpose of local defence.

With regard to the Indian portion of the force, recruiting was under the Indian Defence Force Act closed on 28th August 1917, by which time the number of applications sent in had reached over 9,000. Not all of the applicants, however, appeared when called on for medical examination, and of those who did appear only a little over 3,000 have been passed as medically fit, and in only three of the six areas into which India was divided for the purpose has the number of fit men approached 1,000, the minimum which it was proposed to require before a unit was raised. The Government of India, however, wishing to give the movement every possible encouragement, agreed not to insist on this minimum, and one or more units have been formed, or are in process of formation, in each of the areas referred to, and it has now been decided to give a further opportunity to fill up the cadres of these units by re-opening recruiting, and an amendment to the Indian Defence Force Act will be introduced in Council for this purpose. Hon'ble Members will, however, understand that our hands are not free in the matter of numbers. The demands of the military situation and the calls upon our

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personnel for service in the field necessarily limit the opportunities which we can offer in respect of training for auxiliary troops, and these opportunities naturally vary from time to time. We therefore propose to open and close recruiting for the Indian portion of the Indian Defence Force in the various provinces by notification in the *Gazette of India*, as the above considerations shall dictate.

As regards the work of our forces in the field, the past few months have seen a series of successes in Mesopotamia and in Syria, where a notable advance has been made. The operations in East Africa have been uniformly successful, and the Indian troops who have aided so largely in securing this result are now returning to India to refit.

The war is now entering on a new phase. The added burden thrown on the Allies by the situation in Russia is one which is likely to increase rather than lessen, and India, in common with the rest of the Empire, must be prepared for greater efforts and greater sacrifices, and for a fuller organisation of her military resources, in man-power and in material.

Recruiting for the Indian Army and for the subsidiary services has, during the past year, shown a distinct improvement, and the results of the last few months are encouraging. At the same time, we are not, even now, getting the full numbers we require, nor do the numbers obtained nearly approach the contribution that India could supply without in any way affecting her own requirements.

If we are to obtain a supply adequate to our needs, a sustained and combined effort on the part of all is now necessary. The Central Recruiting Board is keeping in close

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touch with all recruiting questions, and has arranged for a division of the total requirements among the provinces, with special regard to their resources. Provincial Recruiting Boards have been established in most Provinces with very satisfactory results, and their efforts have undoubtedly contributed in no small degree to the measure of success that has attended recruiting operations during the past few months.

The Punjab is maintaining its proud position as the chief supplier of recruits, but, with the co-operation of the various Provincial Boards, it is fully expected that other Provinces and States will shortly contribute a share more in proportion to their population.

The Native States generally maintain their record of high achievement. The first fruits of victory in one field of battle have been manifested in the return of war-worn battalions of Imperial Service Troops to our shores. The Kashmir Battalions, which returned last summer with a distinguished record in an arduous campaign, have now replaced their losses and refitted and are about to retake their places in the fighting line where they will, I feel confident, earn fresh laurels. The States of Bharatpur, Jind, Gwalior and Kapurthala have more recently welcomed the return of their contingents with fitting honours and rejoicings, and the Rampur Infantry, the Faridkot Sappers and Miners, and a Kashmir Mountain Battery may shortly be expected. The splendid services rendered by the troops which have reached India have been acknowledged by the General Officer Commanding in messages which will be treasured in the annals of the States and have been a source of deep gratification to myself and the Government of India.

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The Bharatpur Infantry in particular, who suffered heavy losses in the recent fighting, have earned the special appreciation of His Majesty's Government and the thanks of the Army Council. The Durbars are already planning to reform their units for further service after the men have enjoyed their well-earned leave.

From Palestine also news has been received of the admirable work done in the battle of Gaza, and in the subsequent pursuit, by the Imperial Service Troops of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and of Their Highnesses of Mysore, Gwalior, Patiala, Alwar, Bahawalpur and Khairpur.

The stream of gifts and contributions from the States still flows strongly. Among others I may mention a gift of 5 lakhs from the Maharaja Holkar, a lakh of rupees each from the Maharao of Sirohi and the Maharaja of Nawanagar, Rs. 45,000 from the Maharaja of Jind for the purchase of a bomb aeroplane, 5 lakhs and 25 thousand rupees and 100 horses, besides other gifts, from the Maharaja of Nabha, whose Imperial Service Infantry will, I hope, soon take the field, one lakh and eight thousand rupees from the Chiefs of the Northern Shan States for the purchase of aeroplanes, and, lastly, yet another gift from the Maharaja of Gwalior, namely, £6,000 for the benefit of disabled Naval officers and men and their families.

The Central Recruiting Board has received considerable assistance from some States in the matter of recruiting for the Indian Army, notably from Kashmir, Jaipur, Alwar and Bharatpur, and, in the Punjab, from Patiala, Jind, Nabha and Kapurthala, and besides this the Kashmir, Patiala, Jind, Kapurthala and Bahawalpur Durbars have under-

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taken, on the request of the Government of India, to increase considerably the strength of their Imperial Service units in order to meet the rapid wastage of modern war.

If I were now to resume my seat, Hon'ble Members would perhaps have a right to complain that there remains a subject of momentous importance to India, second in importance to nothing except the war, upon which I have not so far specifically touched. It is a subject which naturally claims at this hour the serious attention of every man interested in the welfare of India. But Hon'ble Members will on reflection realise that at this stage it is not possible for me to say much on the topic of Constitutional Reform. For the past three months the Secretary of State and I have been in daily consultation on the subject. We have received numerous deputations and given still more numerous interviews. In the addresses presented to us we have had clearly placed before us the hopes and aspirations, as well as the doubts and fears, of the various communities in India. In the interviews we have endeavoured to elicit the opinions of those whom we were meeting. We have probed those opinions by searching cross-examination, not for the pleasure of mere dialectic but to satisfy our minds that beneath the opinions expressed there was a solid substratum of fact and experience. I can say for my part—and I believe I can also speak for the Secretary of State—that we regarded these interviews as a liberal education. They enabled us to clear our minds, and they assisted us to see how far opinions expressed in addresses were based on genuine conviction and solid thought. The whole scheme of the tour and the arrangements made at each centre seemed to me admirably suited to the purpose which the Secretary of State and I had in



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hand ; and I should like to pay a tribute to the great ability with which so many of the addresses we heard had been drafted and to the careful labour and thought which they embodied. I also take the opportunity of cordially acknowledging the almost universal spirit of genuine co-operation which animated those who came to meet us in interview. Availing ourselves then of all the help that offers, we are threshing out the great problems with which we have to deal, and I have every hope that the Secretary of State may be able to take home proposals embodying a sane and sober advance, with future steps duly outlined, so that, provided we get that co-operation on which the announcement of August the 20th laid stress, we shall be able to progress towards the realisation of responsible government. Let me remind you of the words of the announcement, that " ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament ". If His Majesty's Government accept our request for publication, then it will be for those who represent the numerous communities interested to put their heads together and make reasoned representations to me upon them for transmission to His Majesty's Government. I notice that it has been suggested that a deputation should go home and lay the case for the Congress-League scheme before His Majesty's Government. The same intention may exist in other quarters. I think that at the right moment that is a course worthy of consideration, and I would not have it thought that there is any desire on the part of Government to hamper any such representations. On the contrary I will gladly give all the advice and all the help which it lies in my power to give.

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You will observe that the procedure we propose to adopt is that which was followed on the occasion of the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme. It opens the door to full discussion and seems to me a highly convenient course to pursue. I do not disguise from myself that there will be those who will criticise our proposals, whatever they may be, as not going far enough, while others will regard them as going dangerously far. That is inevitable. But they will represent a sincere and honest attempt to give effect to the announcement of August the 20th, which the Secretary of State and I have regarded as constituting our terms of reference and therefore binding upon us. I would ask people generally to re-read that announcement as a whole, resisting the temptation to select that portion which suits their particular views and to reject the rest. I believe that in the main the announcement commanded general acquiescence and it behoves us all to endeavour to work together in general harmony with it and to accept its spirit.

The first practical step in fulfilment of that announcement has a directly personal aspect in that it accounts for the presence here in Delhi to-day of the Right Hon'ble Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India. It is our privilege to be able to greet him in our midst, and I am sure that all Hon'ble Members would wish me to extend to him a most sincere and cordial welcome on behalf of the Imperial Legislative Council of India. His task and mine is a joint task and in its discharge we stand in a relationship peculiarly personal; but this consideration will not deter me from thanking him here and now for the whole-heartedness of his co-operation with me. He has moreover met others freely and widely, the leading figures in our political life, official and

*Unveiling of the bust of the late Mr. Gokhale.*

non-official; and, knowing as I do the spirit which has animated him, I feel sure that Hon'ble Members would like me to express to him on behalf of India as a whole our great appreciation of the manner in which he has approached his task. We do not know whether our work of the past three months will lead us to success. It will be for history to record the result of those labours. "Tis not in mortals to command success", but if ever a man, engaged in a task beset with difficulties, deserved success, that man, I most emphatically hold, is the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State.

## UNVEILING OF THE BUST OF THE LATE MR. GOKHALE.

22nd March 1918. The ceremony of unveiling a bust of the late Mr. Gokhale took place in the vestibule of the Council Chamber at Delhi on the morning of the 22nd March 1918. The bust, which is a very fine one, was made by Mr. Mhatre, an Indian sculptor, and its cost contributed by the European Members of the Legislative Council. Sir William Meyer in a few words most eloquently bore witness to Mr. Gokhale's great qualities, describing him as the ablest non-official who had yet sat in the Council. He deplored his early and untimely removal, as his presence would in these days of travail have been of the greatest value to Government.

His Excellency the Viceroy, in unveiling the bust, said :—

In discharging the task which falls to my lot to-day I labour under the grave disadvantage of never having met Mr. Gokhale, and an appreciation of any man without that insight which can only be given by personal acquaintance or friendship must, to say the least, be very imperfect. I would not however on this account have foregone the privilege of

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*Unveiling of the bust of the late Mr. Gokhale.*

taking part in these proceedings which testify to the very high esteem in which Mr. Gokhale was held not only by his own countrymen, but also by all who came into contact with him. You may remember that Matthew Arnold wrote of one who "saw life steadily and saw it whole". That for most of us, if not for all of us, can only be an approximation, and greatness among men, to my mind, in large measure depends upon their approximation to that ideal. So many of us cannot see the wood for the trees. So many of us in the midst of the dust of affairs have our vision blurred and indistinct. And so it comes about that when we, at rare intervals in our life, light upon a man with wide vision and with clear outlook, we greet him as one placed above his fellows.

I venture to think that Mr. Gokhale's claim to our esteem, apart from his personal qualities with regard to which I cannot speak, lies in his approximation to that ideal of which the poet spoke.

If this be true, the sense of our loss of such a man at such a time as the present must be borne in upon us. Such men are rare, and when they pass away before they have reaped the full harvest of their promise, we doubly mourn their loss. Mr. Gokhale has, however, left behind him a name and a memory which should not be without its lesson for us all. I unveil then his bust to-day not only as a memorial of our appreciation of his worth, but as a lasting reminder to us who pass by of the qualities which go to make a man great among his fellows.

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LAST MEETING OF THE DELHI SESSION, 1918, OF THE  
IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

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22nd March     The Delhi Session of the Imperial Legislative Council concluded  
1918.     on the 22nd March 1918 with a speech by the Viceroy.

His Excellency said :—

I shall trouble the Council with very few words in closing this Session. We have put through some useful legislation which I hope will stand the test of time and prove of value. But the Spring Session is primarily the Financial Session, and I shall devote the greater part of my remarks to that topic. I should, however, like to draw your attention to a practice which we have inaugurated during our sittings this year and which I hope to see greatly developed, and that is the practice of official Members taking a larger share in the debates and the proceedings of the Council.

I cannot but express my regret that this practice had not been adopted before, because it would have obviated some of the patent objections which have been raised to our present system. From the point of view of the Government of India it is undoubtedly a waste of man-power and brain-capacity that we should place a number of distinguished officials on the Imperial Council and then refuse to avail ourselves of their knowledge and experience in our debates.

It is a constant source of irritation to the non-official Members that they are up against a silent phalanx of votes. Much of this soreness would, I feel sure, be removed if non-official Members were able to cross swords with official Members on the floor of the Council Chamber ; if they found that they had to deal with men of flesh and blood of like passions with themselves, and not silent voting automata finding their way with machine-like precision and unfailing accuracy into the Government Division Lobby.

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I believe a great advance could be made to improve the present system, but I would remind Hon'ble Members that you cannot alter a practice or a system in a day ; that Government must have power to carry its legislative proposals ; and inasmuch as legislation is carried by votes it cannot relinquish its hold on the official vote. But within these limits it is my desire more and more to give the official element a greater part in our deliberations and so give more reality to our proceedings.

I feel sure that such a change would appeal generally to Hon'ble Members and more particularly to the official Members of the Council.

I now turn to financial matters.

Sir William Meyer has explained clearly to the Council the nature of our financial difficulties at the present time, the paramount importance of meeting adequately the calls on our resources which the war entails, and the specific advantages to India of meeting our war contribution as far as possible by loan proceeds in this country. In view, however, of the supreme importance of ensuring that the second Indian War Loan shall be as complete a success as the first, I wish to take the opportunity of saying a few words on the subject to this Council and through them also to the wider public. The position is briefly that last year India promised to give £100 million or Rs. 150 crores to His Majesty's Government for the cost of the war. Of this amount we have paid in cash to the Home Government Rs. 52 crores which were subscribed to the loan last year. Against the balance of India's contribution, namely, Rs. 98 crores, she has assumed responsibility for interest charges and repayment of a corresponding amount of

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the British War Loan. On this we have of course to pay interest in England.

The advantages to India of paying off this balance as soon as possible and consequently of raising as much as possible by the second War Loan are in simple language as follows :—

- (1) We require the money to spend in India in buying for the Empire and the Allies wheat, rice and other food-stuffs, jute, cotton, tea, hides, boots and shoes, tents and also other equipment. The sums so spent will directly benefit the cultivators and other producers in India.
- (2) The money will by its application in this way be of the greatest use to His Majesty's Government, since it will be entirely devoted to expenditure necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. This is the simplest way in which I can put a rather complicated transaction. Actually we provide funds in India for the purchase of the above-mentioned commodities and other services and are repaid in London. These repayments place the Secretary of State in funds in England and enable him to make over to His Majesty's Government an amount equivalent to our loan proceeds here, thus extinguishing our liability for British War Loan of a corresponding amount.
- (3) The reduction of our liability in this way reduces the amount of interest which we have to pay in England : interest will instead be paid in India to those who subscribe to the new War Loan. By this statement I am simply putting in popular

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language the well-recognised economic advantage of a country holding its own debt.

- (4) There is yet a further reason why it is highly desirable that we should obtain by the loan all the money that we can. More than one Hon'ble Member referred, during the course of the discussion on the Financial Statement, to the possible evils of currency inflation and to the large additions to the currency of the country which have been made in the last two years. Sir William Meyer was able to show that the additions to our currency had been in the circumstances necessary, and that a much larger contributory factor to the rise in prices was the enhanced world demand for essential products. But as my honourable colleague also indicated, such effect in this direction as might be due to increased currency issues might be reduced by the Government's drawing money back into its coffers by additional taxation or otherwise. Our reasons for not imposing additional taxation on the present occasion are briefly that we anticipate a considerable surplus next year, and that our difficulty arises not because our revenues do not cover our expenditure, but from the fact that, owing to causes over which we have and can have no control, a very large amount of our money has been transferred to England, and that we cannot at the present time bring this back and make it available for expenditure in India. Any sums which we could reasonably hope to raise by additional



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taxation would be relatively insignificant as compared with the huge abnormal payments which we have at the present time to make in this country, and the imposition of such taxation would in all probability affect our loan receipts to an extent out of all proportion to the proceeds of the taxation. To those who say that we are not helping to the utmost I would reply that we *are* helping to the utmost of our ability. We believe that the most effective method of giving our help and of securing the object in view is that which we are adopting. It is, however, important to ensure that the Government shall receive back in the form of subscriptions to its loans as large a proportion as possible of the sums which it spends, since such receipts obviate the necessity of putting additional notes and rupees into circulation. It is, I think, evident that for every rupee subscribed to the loan we shall be able to avoid the coining of a new rupee, or the issue of an additional one-rupee note that would otherwise be necessary. Each rupee subscribed will thus either reduce the amount of new silver that we have to purchase or else help to strengthen the metallic proportion of our Paper Currency Reserve.

For all these reasons I confidently trust that India will once more rise to the occasion and equal, if not surpass, her previous effort. I feel too that I can look to Hon'ble Members of this Council for their whole-hearted help in our loan campaign. We are asking Local Governments, as on the last occasion, for their co-operation, and are suggesting to them

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the formation of unofficial propagandist committees on the lines of those which did such good work in connection with our first War Loan. The co-ordinated work of such committees can, however, very valuably be supplemented by volunteer propagandist work outside. As I said last year, we want propagandist work, and the more unofficial that work, the more satisfactory will be its results. The persuasive efforts of Members of this Council will, I am sure, not in any sense be open to any possible objection on the ground of the employment of undue pressure to constrain unwilling people to subscribe to the loan. I fully agree with what has been said in this Council on that subject. We do not want compulsion at all, and, as I think Sir William Meyer added, it almost certainly in the long run does us more harm than good.

In the debate which took place in this Council on March 8th, Hon'ble Members without exception paid their tribute to the services of Sir William Meyer and the manner in which he had surmounted the difficulties and financial problems with which he has been faced during these past years of war. I should like to take this opportunity of associating myself to the full with that tribute. I can only speak of men as I find them, and I say unhesitatingly, and I am sure my colleagues will bear me out, that there is no man who has spent himself more freely in the cause of the Empire during these years than has Sir William Meyer. I sometimes think that the lucidity and simplicity with which he has presented his facts to us may have led to some failure to appreciate the difficulties underlying the problems with which he has been confronted. Sir William Meyer has always been ready to find funds for purposes which the military authorities have declared to be

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necessary for the prosecution of the war and, with the ever-increasing scale of military outlay which it has been necessary to meet, there has never been any hesitation or reluctance on the part of Sir William in discharging the paramount duty of financing military demands to the full. In addition to his financial work he has taken on his shoulders the Chairmanship of the Recruiting Board ; he has given us invaluable help on the Defence Committee ; and his labours in the ordinary work of the Government of India in the Executive Council have been assiduous and ungrudging. Let me remind the general public of one more thing. Sir William Meyer is responsible for presenting his Budget proposals to the Governor-General in Council, but when once they have been accepted, then they become the proposals of the Government as a whole for which we must take responsibility equally with the Finance Member. Sir William Meyer has been at times singled out for attack. I think I may say that we his colleagues deeply resent this unfairness. No man in these grave times will dare to claim immunity from criticism, but equally I venture to say that all men who bear heavy responsibility have a right to ask that criticism should be tempered by charitableness.

Let me now bid Hon'ble Members who come from the ends of India good-bye. You have learned during these past two months some of our difficulties. The war is still with us, and while it continues we can hope for no respite from those difficulties. But you know them and their causes, and I am confident that you will instruct your fellow-countrymen as to their why and wherefore. We have no cause for despondency. We know that if we are true to ourselves, victory lies ahead of us, but in the meantime until its dawn appears there are the discomforts and inconveniences which are inseparable from war. You can teach the people better than we that

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these are only for a time and will vanish when sure and certain victory crowns our arms. It is a privilege for us that we live in these times ; that, in however humble a way, each one of us can play his part in the great struggle of right against wrong. We have then all of us a special call to service at this moment, and I bid you who are going from here to scatter throughout India god-speed in this great service for your Sovereign and your country.

#### THE INDIAN WAR CONFERENCE AT DELHI.

The War Conference which opened at Delhi on the 27th April was one of the most striking gatherings which India has ever witnessed. 27th April 1918.  
Other proceedings have been marked by pomp or pageantry, but the object aimed at in this supreme hour of the Empire's history gave profound importance to the Conference which included Ruling Princes, high officials, leading members of the commercial community, landholders and politicians of various shades of opinions.

Prominent among those assembled in the Council Chamber were the Ruling Princes who had accepted invitations to be present. The Maharaja of Jaipur was striking and picturesque in his princely costume, while the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Maharaja of Patiala looked soldierly in their staff officers' uniforms. The closely veiled figure of the Begum of Bhopal occupied a seat at the end of the row near the Viceroy's left hand, the corresponding seat on the other side being filled by the Gaekwar of Baroda. Three or four members of the Executive Council sat on His Excellency's right and left hand. The rest of those present had no fixed seats allotted to them, but occupied chairs and benches on the floor of the chamber. Around this group in tiers were the delegates from all parts of India, a number of whom were in uniform. The galleries were choked with visitors. All

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rose when the Viceroy entered. Immediately after his arrival His Excellency rose and delivered the following speech:—

Delhi has seen many assemblages in her long history. Three stand out in the recollection of living men. Lord Lytton in Delhi proclaimed Queen Victoria as Empress of India. Lord Curzon celebrated the accession of King Edward as Emperor, and within recent memory our King-Emperor showed himself to his people in this historic city.

All these great gatherings were held with befitting pomp and circumstance. There was cloth of gold; there was blare of trumpets; there was pageantry of arms. They marked great moments in India's history; the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland taking upon herself a title which threw a challenge to the world that she was monarch of this land and of its peoples; King Edward reaffirming the great Queen's act by claiming your allegiance as her successor; and finally our King-Emperor coming in person and receiving your homage and allegiance on the plains of Delhi.

But all these great assemblies will have proved empty and vain if the purport of our gathering here to-day be not fulfilled. To-day we are met together, Princes and peoples, from all the ends of India—I wish I could have summoned more—with no pomp and circumstance, no pageantry, no clash of arms or music, to show that India's word given in the soft days of peace holds good in the iron times of war; to prove that India remains now as ever true to her salt. We are met here then with quiet purpose and stern resolve to answer the call which our King-Emperor makes to us.

And what is that call? To-day after well-nigh four completed years of war the guns are thundering and men are

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dying on the fields of Flanders and of France to settle the great issue—Is Right Might? or Is Might Right?—and your Emperor calls upon India at this supreme moment to rally to his call and establish it for all time that Right is Might. Do I err when I state the issue thus? We hold that moral purpose should rule the world, and that purpose is the achievement of right.

Can we say the same of our foes? None of us can forget the German Chancellor's cynical avowal in the opening days of the war that "necessity knows no law". We remember blazing Louvain. We hear the cries of children. Old men are shot: women are outraged and butchered. We have had the tale of German rule in South-West Africa. And so I could go on with the gruesome history of these four years.

And now where do we stand? In the West the armed hosts face each other locked in deadly conflict. The battle sways this way and that. Our forces have been pressed back under the weight of the German Armies released from the Russian front; but we are unbroken. The battle is one of endurance. Each day takes its awful toll of victims, and victory will come to him who endures to the end. We need have no fear, for time and men are on our side. We can endure, and Britain's great daughter, the United States of America, is pouring in men ready to take their place in the stricken field.

But in the meantime Germany with that thoroughness, which might have been devoted to a better cause, has not been idle in the East. I will take your minds back a few years. Germany has long cast her eyes eastward. In her dream of world domination the East has always loomed large, and

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many years ago Germany concentrated her diplomacy on the moral and political capture of Turkey. With Turkey as her servitor a path to the East was open, and she could use the influence and prestige of Turkey in the Moslem world for the furtherance of her own aims. I need not dwell on her pre-war plans in regard to the Baghdad railway and other matters in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Shortly after the outbreak of war in Europe Germany succeeded, with the help of a clique bound by self-interest to her service, in dragging Turkey into a war with which she had no concern, regardless of the ruin caused to that unhappy country. Now in this policy Germany was prompted not only by her craving for Eastern dominion, but also by the hope that she might cause thereby the maximum embarrassment in the East to her chief enemy, Great Britain. In the first place, she hoped that the Moslems of India would be duped into the belief that this secular war with Turkey, thrust on us against our will, was a religious war, and would be shaken in their allegiance to Great Britain. But in this she was destined to disappointment. The Indian Moslems were quick to realise that this was not a matter of religion but a secular trap into which they were too wise and too loyal to walk. The Indian Moslems with their religion safeguarded and secured, as it has always been and always will be under British rule, have been loyal to the great Empire of whom they form so vital a part. In the second place, Germany hoped to secure an open and unmolested path to the Persian Gulf whence she might harry Indian communications and Indian commerce with her submarines, and perhaps eventually by intrigue and terrorism in Persia bring war to the confines of India itself. But here again

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she is thwarted. Our gallant armies in Mesopotamia, to which India has contributed so generously, have now succeeded by victory after victory in securing the great plains of Mesopotamia, so that no danger can, I hope and believe, again threaten us from that quarter. By our operations in Mesopotamia we have not only steadied the Middle East, but are defending India in the best way possible from direct German aggression.

You will ask, where then is the menace of which the Prime Minister speaks ?

The terrible revolution, which has hurled Russia into anarchy, has opened another door for Germany through Southern Russia to the confines of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. At present famine, lawlessness, and chaos reign along the path which German forces would have to traverse to approach us by that route ; and as yet, preoccupied with the stupendous struggle in the West, Germany has made no military move whatsoever in this direction. But the door is open and we must be on our guard. In this war, as in no war before, we have to look ahead and prepare for every possible contingency. Germany has not and could not yet have made any military move in the direction I speak of, but she has already, as is her wont, thrown out into Central Asia her pioneers of intrigue, her agents of disintegration. The lesson she has learnt from the Russian revolution is that a stronger weapon than all the armaments that money can buy or science devise is the disruption of an enemy by his own internal forces. To this end Germany sapped and mined in Russia ; to this end she will sap and mine through her agents in the Middle East, and blow on the flame of anarchy in the hope that it may spread and spread till it has



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enveloped the lands of her enemies, regardless of all intervening havoc. When the ground has thus been prepared then she will look for her opportunity.

But there is a bright side to the picture. In the north there is a bulwark against German intrigue and German machinations. I refer to our staunch friend and ally, His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan. As you are aware, at the outbreak of the war, His Majesty gave his Royal word that, so long as the independence and integrity of his Kingdom were not threatened, he would maintain neutrality. He has kept his Royal word unswervingly, in spite of every attempt of our enemies to seduce him from his purpose and to embarrass his position, and I do not believe that in the history of this country the relations between any Amir of Afghanistan and any Viceroy of India have been more cordial or mutually confident than they are to-day. But in Afghanistan, as in India, there are many ignorant people, credulous people, fanatical people, such as at a time of world-excitement may be carried away by any wind of vain doctrine. Such persons may at any moment become a serious embarrassment to wise and level-headed statesmanship. One of our first thoughts therefore at this time must be how we can best assist the Amir of Afghanistan, who has in the interests of his country which he loves, and in accordance with the pledges, which he has given, kept his ship on a straight course of neutrality between the reefs that have so often surrounded him. We can, I believe, best do so by showing our enemies, first, that India stands solid as rock, and that the lambent flame of anarchical intrigue will find nothing inflammable in this country,—nay rather, will be smothered and extinguished forthwith, should it

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approach, by the deadweight of our unity of purpose ; second, that should ever our enemy have the hardihood to bring force in the direction of our borders, we are ready with munitions and men to fulfil our obligations to the Amir of Afghanistan by assisting him in repelling foreign aggression, and further to guard our own with the whole man-power and resources of India ready behind us.

I make no boast—nor is this a time for boasting—but we are at the present moment very strong in India in the military sense. This war has brought great developments in military equipment, and we are not behind hand in all the latest military inventions. We have seldom in recent years been so prepared as we are to-day ; and those misguided people on our frontiers who during the past year relied on our being unprepared and weak in troops have found out their mistake to their cost. But this does not mean that we can fold our hands, and take our security for granted. We must take no risks, and whenever the call may come, and whatever it may be, we must be ready to meet it.

We have supplied and are now supplying Palestine and Mesopotamia with large forces and the necessary reinforcements, and we are in close communication with the military authorities at home with regard to all future requirements.

First of our obligations stands the supply of men for our armies.

I have no doubt that if we adhered to our present methods of recruitment we should continue to secure a large number of men. But I have felt that it would not be right to pursue

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such a policy. I want to feel that I am carrying India herself along with the Empire at large ; I want her to realise that this is her war ; and that her sons who go forth to fight go to fight for their own Motherland. And so now that the Prime Minister has sent forth his trumpet call and spoken of the menace to the East, I have thought it well to take you into my complete confidence and tell you how the matter stands. There is no reason for apprehension. Forewarned we are forearmed. And if we stand united against the common foe, we have no cause for fear. India is true to her allegiance. India stands for the right. No man addressing such an audience, and stating such a cause, can doubt for one moment what the response will be. I have spoken of the cause. I have told you of the death-grip on the Western Front. I have unfolded to you the story of German machinations in the East.

If the war were to stop to-morrow, the tale of India's share in the Great War would form no unworthy page in her glorious annals. Her sons have fought not without glory on every front. In East Africa, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, they have borne away victorious laurels. They still flock to the colours. But until victory is achieved we cannot relax our efforts, and I have summoned you to Delhi not simply that you may listen to me, move resolutions and then disperse, but I have asked you to come and help with your counsel and advice now, and with your personal endeavour when you return to your homes. In due course you will be invited to appoint two Committees—one on Man-Power and another on Resources. The Commander-in-Chief and other Members of my Executive Council, assisted by expert advisers, will lay before the Committees information which will

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enable them to review the situation, and report to the Conference on Monday.

I might speak to you to-day of the help which India could give in many directions. We can of our plenty give more to those who go short. We can become more self-sufficing. We can learn to do without things. But these are questions which can be better discussed in Committee.

There is one matter, however, which is in the domain of the Imperial Council, with regard to which I must make brief allusion. I refer to finance. We have had to meet large military expenditure and the heavy Council drawings required to finance exports of national importance; and the strain, which the provision of these large amounts in India has thrown on us, has been mainly due to the difficulty of supplementing our resources by specie remittances on a scale commensurate with our requirements. Remittances in the form of gold have been limited by the necessity of conserving the central gold resources of the Empire and the Allies, while in the case of silver we have been prevented from obtaining the supplies we desired by the large competitive demands of other countries for this metal.

In the latter respect I am glad to be able to state that we now hope that this strain will shortly be considerably relieved. Arrangements have been made under which the United States Government will supply us with a very large quantity of silver which they have taken powers by legislation to set free from their Currency Reserve. We may thus expect in the near future very substantial remittances in the form of silver. I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing our hearty obligations to the American Government.

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for the valuable assistance which they are giving us in the matter. It may be some time before this silver will arrive; but the knowledge that it is on the way will, I am sure, form an adequate answer to the rumours which have been spread, through ignorance or malignity, as to the possibility of our being unable to meet in full our obligations in respect of currency notes, and will show that such rumours are entirely without foundation. The help which is thus being afforded us will moreover be of the greatest value by enabling us to continue to render the full and effective assistance to the finance of the war which we desire to give.

I invite now the co-operation of all in securing the success of the coming War Loan. We are not yet in a position to fix a date for the new loan, because that must depend on satisfactory money-market conditions, which do not at present obtain.

How India can best render further financial assistance is a matter which must engage our earnest attention. Later on, when the position is clearer than at present, we propose to consider, in conjunction with the Legislative Council, for this is a matter essentially in its sphere, how far it will be feasible for India to increase the direct financial contribution she has already made to His Majesty's Government, or in what other way she can assist financially. If additional taxation should be necessary, we shall not shrink from proposing it, and I am sure that you will gladly bear it. But at the present moment, we have to concentrate our efforts on that form of assistance which India can most readily and usefully give in connection with the present crisis, that is the increase of her combatant power and of her production for war purposes.

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Let me now return to the larger theme. While I am speaking the great issue still hangs on the balance upon the battle-fields of France. It is there that the ultimate decision of India's fate will be taken. I have told you of the situation in the East, not because I think your pulses can only be quickened by an indication of peril to yourselves, but because through it you may be able to see clearly where our path of duty lies. Let me be able to tell the Prime Minister that he need have no fear for the East; that here India will do watch and ward; that here she will take full responsibility.

But if we are to do these things we must close our ranks. In the face of the common danger there is no room for smaller issues. The liberty of the world must be won before our aspirations for the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning. And surely no one can say that India has any cause for complaint on this score. It was only in August last that the momentous declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government was made. 'Close on the heels of that announcement the Secretary of State came out to India, and he and I have been at work on the problem for the past six months. Mr. Montagu is now on his way home carrying with him our joint report and recommendations. He would have felt it a great privilege to be here to-day, but it was not possible. He had already stayed in India far beyond the time which had been contemplated for his visit. But he has left in the full and certain confidence that India will not prove deaf to the call which has been made, and that she will take such steps as may enable her to respond. I read with great satisfaction, and England will read with great satisfaction, the telegram of the non-official Members of the Bengal Legislative Council in which they expressed their

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trust "that the people of India will put aside all difference of opinion and disputes, and will concentrate their whole energy upon a supreme endeavour to prevent the tyranny of the German Empire from engulfing the whole world". Surely that should be the aim of us all. I am ready—aye! more than ready—to concert with those who will meet me on this common platform. But in these days of stress and strain it is idle to ask men to come together who disagree on first principles. While they are wrangling over those, the house is burning. There are those who would exploit England's difficulty. I believe that these people gravely misinterpret India's attitude. I am sure that there are none here who will countenance such a policy. There are those again who would wish to bargain. Again I decline to believe that any one has come to this Conference in a huckstering spirit. Lastly, there are some who would busy themselves with this thing or that. To these I would say that, as at home and in other countries, we have felt it our duty not to be unmindful of the great problems of reconstruction which will inevitably face all countries when this great war is over. But our task in this respect is now over for the present. We have heard all those who had a right to be heard, and we have a right to ask for patience. No decisive steps will be taken without opportunity being given for discussion and criticism. Let me then take Burkes immortal phrase and say, "Let us pass on. For God's sake, let us pass on".

Everywhere throughout His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas men are flocking to the colours. Wherever the British flag flies in the dominions every nerve is being strained to bring all help in this supreme moment.

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We must not, we will not, have it said that India was one whit behind the rest of the Empire. I know, I am sure, that in saying this I am merely anticipating the decision of this Conference.

In this great world conflagration all the nations are being tried by fire and the dross is being purged away. We may ask ourselves how can this thing be, but we may be confident that it is not without divine purpose; that the peoples are being tested as by fire; and that for those who come out purified and refined there are spacious days ahead. So may it be with India, and you who have come to this Conference have India's good name in your hands. The eyes of the world are upon you. I am sure you will quit yourselves like men.

The Viceroy then read the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor:—

I learn with deep satisfaction that in response to the invitation of my Viceroy, the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, representatives of the Provincial Governments, and leaders of all ranks and sections of the community, European and Indian, are meeting in Conference at Delhi to reaffirm the abiding loyalty of the Indian people and their resolute will to prosecute to their utmost ability and to the full limit of their resources, in association with other members of the Empire, the war which our enemies have wantonly provoked and which they are ruthlessly waging against the freedom of the world. Great as has been India's contribution to the common cause of the Allies, it is by no means



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the full measure of her resources and her strength. I rejoice to know that their development and the fuller utilisation of her man-power will be the first care of the Conference. The need of the Empire is India's opportunity, and I am confident that under the sure guidance of my Viceroy her people will not fail in their endeavours. Recent events have made the struggle on the Western Front more bitter and more sustained. At the same time the position in the East is menaced by disturbances in Asia instigated by the enemy. It is of ever-increasing importance that the operations of our armies in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia should be largely sustained from India. I look confidently to the deliberations of the Conference to promote a spirit of unity, a concentration of purpose and activity, and a cheerful acceptance of sacrifice without which no high object, no lasting victory, can be achieved.

## THE INDIAN WAR CONFERENCE AT DELHI—CLOSE OF.

29th April 1918.      The great War Conference met again at 10-30 to-day, H. E. Lord Chelmsford presiding.

An hour before the formal opening of the proceedings the Viceroy had an informal conversation with a number of the provincial delegates in the ante-chamber of the hall. When the Conference was resumed the chamber was again packed with members and the galleries seemed fuller than ever.

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His Excellency, in opening the proceedings of the Conference, spoke as follows :—

Before proceeding with the agenda which you all have in your hands I wish to inform this Conference that I have received notice of a resolution from the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde. The resolution is as follows :—“That this Conference recommends that in order to invoke whole-hearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India and successfully to mobilise man-power, material and money the Government in England should without delay introduce a bill into Parliament meeting the demands of the people to establish responsible Government in India within a reasonable period which should be specified in the Statute. We feel confident that the inauguration of this measure will make our people feel that they are fighting for their Motherland and for freedom in the defence of their own rights in an Empire in which they possess the same status as other members thereof and we are, further, sure that if the imagination of our country is captured and its enthusiasm so encouraged it can easily equip itself to be, in the language of the Premier, a bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder. This Conference recommends that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the King's equal subjects in all departments of public affairs.”

I have no intention myself of discussing the merits or demerits of the proposed resolution, but I think, out of respect to the Conference and courtesy to the Honourable Member who has given notice of the resolution, that I should inform the Conference of the reasons, the paramount, the cogent reasons

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which impel me to declare that resolution out of order. Now, in the first place, this Conference is a war conference. It has been summoned for the purpose of discussing how best India can help the Empire in man-power and in the matter of resources. Well, to my mind it is a fundamental principle governing all public meetings that a public meeting should confine itself to the matter for the discussion of which it has been called together, and on this fundamental ground I feel it is necessary in the first place to say that this resolution does not come within the scope of this Conference, and, secondly, to remind Honourable Members that they have been summoned as representatives from various parts of India not because of their qualifications to discuss large questions of policy, questions which should be discussed in the Imperial Council and other Councils, but to consider this one sole subject. I think it would be unreasonable to ask Honourable Members who have come here to go outside their sphere, as I should have to do, if I were to admit them to a discussion of that sort. But there is another point that I should like to bring before this Conference. If I were to admit this resolution I should have to admit discussions on any question which any Honourable Member of this Conference considered should be treated as a condition precedent to the proposals for the assistance of the Empire. I would ask Honourable Members of this Conference to consider what an impossible situation might thereby arise. We should have to discuss many subjects, and by the time we had finished these subjects we should not have got to the matter in hand. I would ask the Honourable Member who suggested this resolution to consider how unreasonable it would be for all you busy men who have come together here, who have been asked for one particular purpose, to discuss

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this question here, when there is a tribunal before which these matters are discussed.

But there is a last point which I should like to bring prominently to the notice of the Honourable Member who wishes to move this resolution, and that is that this Conference is composed not only of representatives from British India, but many of the Ruling Princes have come here to show that in this Imperial matter they have no interest distinct from British India itself. There is a fundamental governing principle which rules the relations between the Native States and British India, and that is that we in British India do not interfere in the internal concerns of Native States, and we do not expect Their Highnesses to interfere in our affairs. Therefore on this occasion, if this resolution were admitted, we should be asking Their Highnesses to discuss and to vote on a matter which I for one distinctly say is not in their purview, and I feel that Their Highnesses would be the first to disclaim any wish to do so and would in fact decline to do it. Therefore on all these grounds I am bound to rule this resolution out of order. I gave the Honourable Member notice of my intention and I told him that I should put the resolution as he drafted it before the Conference, and I also told him that I should inform the Conference of the considered opinion which I have arrived at upon his resolution, to show that I had considered it carefully and after due consideration had felt that it was not in my power to accept it.

The Gaekwar of Baroda then moved the first resolution and asked the Viceroy to convey to His Majesty a resolution expressing India's dutiful and loyal response to his gracious message, and expressing the determination of the country to do its duty to the utmost capacity in the great crisis through which the Empire is passing. This was

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supported by Their Highnesses the Beg'm of Bhopal, the Maharajas of Gwalior, Bikaner, and Patiala, and a number of the leading delegates.

H. E. the Viceroy in closing the Conference said :—

Your Highnesses and gentlemen,—We have now come to the end of our deliberations, and I think you will all say with me that it has been good for each one of us to have been here. It has been an experience and an inspiration—an experience that has never fallen to the lot of any one here, an experience which no one in India has ever had. From all the ends of India you have been gathered together representing, I hope, every shade of opinion and every possible community. You have come here ; you have taken counsel together ; you have had put before you the facts with regard to the crisis ; you have been willing to sink all minor differences for the moment and to think and consider what you can do for your King, for the Empire, and for your country. I am proud to have had the privilege of presiding over such a Conference. Now that you are going back to your homes I want you to take with you the words which His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar uttered in his speech just now—"You are going to perform without fail what you have resolved here." You are going back to your provinces fortified and inspired by the days of labour that you have spent here. I have to thank those gentlemen who have come from the ends of India to consult and consider together here. Every province except one has been represented by a delegation. The Burma Government has only one representative here, the Honourable Mr. Maung Bah Too. I take upon myself full responsibility for not having issued a wider invitation to that province. It was not because I undervalue the assistance that Burma can give, nor because

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I do not know that Burma wishes to be identified in every way with India in this great movement, but because I was sure that the inconvenience of travelling would be so great that I felt that it might be possible that the Burma delegates would even arrive too late for our deliberations, and therefore I expressly did not invite Burma to send a delegation. I would say here that Burma has done great deeds in the past for the Empire, that she has contributed in men, that she has contributed in money, and that Burma may well be proud of what she has done. I feel sure that she will soon have reason to be even prouder.

Now, with regard to the resolutions themselves ; the first resolution it has been my proud privilege to forward to His Majesty the King-Emperor, as a reply to his gracious message which I read to this Conference the other day ; the second resolution will be forwarded through the Secretary of State to the Prime Minister. I said in my opening remarks that the eyes of the world were upon India, and that I felt sure that we who are gathered together here are ready to quit ourselves like men. I feel perfectly confident that, when these resolutions of Government go out to Great Britain and to the dominions, it will be seen that we have quitted ourselves like men. I am perfectly conscious of the fact—I do not blink it for one moment—that there are representatives in this Conference who lay great stress upon certain domestic matters. I do not underrate their zeal in these matters, nor do I underestimate the importance of these questions which they would like to have brought up before this Conference ; but let me assure them that no prejudice has been done to the cause they have at heart, that

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rather the attitude of those who have been present here to-day is the fact that men who feel strongly on these questions should have been ready when the Empire calls to drop for the moment these matters, and say "no, this comes first". I say that this attitude will raise sympathy which must bear its fruit in due time. This Conference has had a practical side, apart from the passing of these resolutions to-day. It has been of value in that we have been able through the committees to take you, gentlemen, into our confidence, that we have been able in questions of manpower to tell you in the secrecy of committee the work that we have been able to do, and to set out the facts at our disposal, to explain why it is that Government of India have found it difficult to do certain things, and why we urge those who came to the special committee not to press us upon certain matters. The sub-committees have their practical side and I feel sure that those who have been present on these committees will go away able to help us when they get back to their homes. I think Mr. Ironside in his speech suggested that he has not had very much opportunity while he has been here. May I assure him, if that has been unfortunately the case, that in an assembly like this where you have to get committees together, it perforce happens, sometimes, that individuals do not get their chance, but if that has been so, I can only say that it is to be thoroughly regretted, and I hope that when Mr. Ironside goes back to Bengal he will, with all that fervour and loyalty and desire to help the Empire's cause for which he is renowned, throw himself into the work of his provincial committee, and will be able to give us his unstinted assistance in the Province of Bengal.

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There is another sphere in which this Conference must have been of great value. In my closing address to the Imperial Legislative Council a month or so back I asked honourable members when they went to their homes to try and educate the people with regard to the difficulties and inconveniences which are inseparably connected with the present state of things. We have, as many members know, very great difficulties in connection with our railways. Those difficulties must react upon our travelling public. I believe it to be a fact that—I am speaking without the book—we reduced last year something like a million train miles a month. Well, now go back from here and tell the people—who, after all do not know the causes of things—tell them why these things are in a bad state, and how, even in this little inconvenience which they suffer, they are doing something to help. I believe we have only got to tell people these things in order to win their co-operation and support, but it is impossible for it to be done officially. It can be done by you, gentlemen, who are non-officials, who can educate the people in these matters.

There is one matter in which I am sure we shall receive support. In this Conference we have not dealt through a committee of the Conference with the large question of finance.

Now, I am very jealous of the position of the Imperial Legislative Council. The question of finance is essentially one in which we have to consult and carry with us the members of our Imperial Legislative Council. We have endeavoured through our informal meetings which have



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been held by the Honourable the Finance Member to do something towards enlightening certain members with regard to our financial efforts, but I am of the decided opinion that the matter is one which can only properly be discussed in our Imperial Legislative Council. In September we shall be in a position, I trust and hope, to discuss matters with the Imperial Legislative Council. There can be no direction in which India or the Government of India can fail to respond to the call from Great Britain. When that call is made, whether it is for men, whether it is for materials, or whether it is for money, I feel confident that it will be the wish of India that we should try and see what response we can adequately make in that matter of finance which is essentially a matter for the Imperial Legislative Council. This Conference has been unique because we have had here not only representatives from the provinces, but also as many as, I think, sixteen Ruling Princes from the Native States. This has been a great Imperial Conference, and, therefore, it was essential that Their Highnesses should be represented. They have no interests separate from the rest of India in Imperial matters. They are one with India and the Empire, and it has been a great benefit to us that they have been able to be here and that in all the resolutions that have been passed is embodied their willing co-operation as well as the willing co-operation of the whole of this country.

But I should not like this Conference to pass without informing it of a resolution which the Ruling Princes who have been present here have asked me to forward to His Majesty the King-Emperor:—"The Ruling Princes who have been invited decided at an informal meeting held by him on the 28th April 1918 to convey through His

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Excellency the Viceroy to His Majesty the King-Emperor the renewed assurances of their unswerving loyalty and attachment to His Imperial Majesty, and of their determination to continue unabated to the utmost of their abilities and resources their efforts for the successful prosecution of the war." Ever since the Prime Minister's message came to me and I made my reply the Ruling Princes have been rallying to the cause of the Empire. They have been sending offers of contributions and offers of men. I will only mention just a few of those which have come in and which have not already been published and which have been made by some of Their Highnesses who are present here to-day : —His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, Rs. 15 lakhs ; His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, Rs. 1 lakh a year so long as the war continues ; His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, Rs. 5 lakhs ; His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, Rs. 5 lakhs ; His Highness the Rao of Cutch, Rs. 1 lakh a year for the period of the war ; His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, Rs. 1 lakh ; His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar, Rs. 3 lakhs a year as long as the war lasts. I have to thank Their Highnesses for having come here. It has added lustre to the Conference. It has shown that we in India know of no real distinction between British India and the Native States when Imperial concerns are at stake.

And now I have only to wish you farewell. I thank you all from the bottom of my heart for your attendance here. I thank you on behalf of the King-Emperor for the resolutions you have passed, and I feel confident that you will return to your provinces with hope strengthened and fortified, inspired by what has passed here, and determined to do whatever lies in your power for the safety, honour and welfare of our Sovereign and his dominions.

The Viceroy then shook hands with the Ruling Princes and the Proceedings terminated.

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ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF THE ST.  
JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE RED CROSS.

24th June 1918. The annual meeting of the Indian Council of the St. John Ambulance Association and Red Cross was held on the 24th June at Viceregal Lodge, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. There was a large attendance of visitors and members of the Association. The Commander-in-Chief presented the annual report of the St. John Ambulance. Mr. W. G. A. Hanrahan, General Secretary, Indian Council, in the course of his report stated that the Indian Council had now a full-time officer as General Secretary with a small but efficient office which moved between Simla and Delhi with the Government of India.

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech was as follows:—

Sir Claude Hill in presenting the report of the activities of the past year has very rightly given a front place to the loss which we have sustained through the death of Sir Pardey Lukis. It is no exaggeration to say that Sir Pardey Lukis was the Association and that it lived, moved and had its being in him. No man died more truly in the service of his country than Sir Pardey Lukis, and he came by his death largely through the overwork which was his lot during the last months of his life. Many tributes have been paid to his memory, but it would ill-befit us on the occasion of this annual gathering, at which he was such a prominent figure, if I did not once more place on record our appreciation of his inestimable services.

With the death of Sir Pardey it became necessary to reconstruct our Executive, and we were fortunate in being able to secure the services of Sir Claude Hill, who has reorganised the work of the Joint Committee of St. John's and the Red Cross in the manner described in his speech.

There is one matter, however, on which I would lay special stress. As those who have been present on former occasions are aware, I have always emphasised the fact that it is the

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duty of the Red Cross to supplement the work of Government and not to do the work of Government in respect of the sick and wounded. There has never been any disinclination on the part of Government to do its share, but there has been a not unnatural unwillingness on the part of the Red Cross to give up spheres of work which it had undertaken and rightly undertaken.

In the early days of the war it was easier for private associations than for the Government to put their hands on and provide requisites such as motors and motor launches. This was the case both in England and here. Now the converse is the case. Private associations cannot get such things except through the Government, and as it is obviously the duty of the Government to provide them, it has been decided that the Red Cross should leave this responsibility to Government. It is clearly wrong to indent on private generosity for public needs. The arrangement has therefore been come to under which the Red Cross confines its activities to the provision of only those articles which ease the care of the sick and wounded. It will always be the duty of the Red Cross to be ready to supplement, not to bear the full burden.

It was for this reason that we recommended to the Presidency of Madras to hand over to the Government their hospitalship. Madras have done a fine work through this ship, and I must place on record my appreciation of what they have done. I hope and feel confident that they will not relax their efforts on behalf of Red Cross work. There is still ample scope for help and I look forward to its being forthcoming in an undiminished degree

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But while reorganisation has meant on the one hand a certain curtailment of activity, it will mean on the other a recognition of further responsibility. The Red Cross has come to stay. It must therefore be prepared for all eventualities and not be content to improvise effort when occasion arises. As you are aware, the Red Cross was to the front both in the Mahsud and the Mari expeditions. But in both those cases it was necessary to improvise on the spur of the moment. In the future we should be ready through advance depôts with our stores comparatively close to the scene of action, only needing to be supplemented from the rear as the necessity arises. I hope then that subscribers will fully appreciate the situation. Their interest must not slacken because Government have assumed the responsibilities in this present war which are clearly theirs. There is still ample field for interest and co-operation, and they may rest assured that the resources of the Red Cross and St. John's are being mobilised so as to be most effective where and when occasion demands.

The work of the Association has been wonderfully simplified by the great results achieved on "Our Day". Sir Claude Hill has paid a tribute to the admirable work done by the provinces. I do not underestimate the great efforts made by the larger provinces, but one must not forget the smaller units. Measured in lakhs of rupees, their contributions do not catch the eye, as do the sums gathered in by the larger provinces. But taking them on the *per capita* basis the smaller provinces and administrations deserve our admiration, gratitude and thanks every whit as much as do the larger areas. I must not however pass over without mention the headquarter staff

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who organised "Our Day". We are deeply indebted to Mr. Buck and his colleagues for their ungrudging labours, which contributed so largely to the success which was achieved.

And now, as Sir Claude Hill has told you, we are in a happy position financially, and for the moment I shall leave the matter there. But let us clearly envisage the future. We are just completing the fourth year of the war. We have no intention of laying down our arms until we do so on our own terms and those, victorious terms. A German authority the other day reminded his countrymen that throughout history England had always emerged victoriously from its great wars. We of this generation have no intention of falling short of this great record and, come what may, we shall go through to the same end.

And we who are not in the field must be prepared to play our part. Throughout the centuries the effort of civilisation has been to soften the rigours and miseries inseparable from war. Our foes have preferred to hark back to the days of Attila and the Huns. All the greater call upon us to alleviate pain and suffering. We know no distinction of race or colour or class. We only know that where pain and suffering and death are, there is the work of our Association. Our hospitals, our nurses, our agents bear the badge of the Red Cross which should by all treaties and conventions carry immunity from deliberate hurt. We know now that that is not the case. They are the aim and target of the enemy's hate equally with our soldiers. One more reason, if reason were needed, for our unsparing and ungrudging help

*Address of Welcome from the Bhopal Municipality.*

We shall not have to make an appeal in the immediate future on the lines of last year's effort. We shall be able to rely, I trust, on the constant flow of annual subscriptions. But if the necessity arises, I shall not hesitate to appeal once more to India, and I am confident that should that appeal be made, India will again rise to the height of her opportunity.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME FROM THE BHOPAL  
MUNICIPALITY.

31st July  
1918.

His Excellency the Viceroy arrived at Bhopal on the morning of the 31st July in the course of the monsoon tour and received an address of welcome from the Bhopal Municipality, to which His Excellency made the following reply:—

*Nawabzada and Gentlemen*,—I thank you very heartily, on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself, for the warm and courteous welcome, which you have extended to us. I have heard Bhopal described as one of the most picturesque capitals in India; and I greatly look forward to seeing your famous lakes and the monuments which tell the city's history. I learn with pleasure of the steady progress, which your Municipality has been making, of late years, under the fostering care of Her Highness the Begum, and I congratulate you on having, as your President, one of Her Highness' sons, Nawabzada Hamidullah Khan. I have already heard of the laudable efforts which you have made to combat the epidemics of plague from which Bhopal has unfortunately suffered, and I trust that the measures which you are taking will prevent its re-erudescence. The war has necessarily curtailed municipal progress everywhere, since material required for development

*State Banquet at Bhopal.*

schemes has had to be diverted to supply our forces in the field. Bhopal has laid us under a special obligation, since Her Highness the Begum has twice over placed at the disposal of Government the electric installation ordered in England for the lighting of the city. The citizens have, however, the satisfaction of feeling that the postponement of this improvement has been of incalculable benefit in alleviating the hardships of our soldiers in Mesopotamia during the hot weather.

I congratulate you on the success with which you have inaugurated your campaign on behalf of the Second War Loan; and I gratefully accept the offer of Rs. 3,000, which the members of your Board have generously decided to raise and place at my disposal, for war purposes, annually for the duration of the war.

It only remains for me to express to you once more my gratitude for the kindly feeling which has prompted this address, and to assure you of my sincere interest in the welfare and prosperity of your ancient city. It is indeed a happy omen that my arrival should have been ushered in by the long-awaited rain.

## STATE BANQUET AT BHOPAL.

A State Banquet was given on the night of the 4th August in honour of the visit of Lord and Lady Chelmsford to Bhopal. 4th August 1918.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, in proposing the toast of the Viceroy, said: With feelings to which I find it impossible to give adequate expression I rise to propose the toast of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and accord Their Excellencies the warmest welcome to Bhopal. Linked as the Ruling Princes are to the throne and person of the King-Emperor by indissoluble ties of affection and loyalty it is only natural that they should regard it a matter of extreme pride and pleasure to be afforded an opportunity of receiving His Imperial



*State Banquet at Bhopal.*

Majesty's vice-regent in India as their honoured guest and showing hospitality to him.

The reception of the Viceroy in the Native States is an outward symbol of the appreciation by the Ruling Princes of the benefits of the British Raj, of the happiness, the prosperity and a thousand other blessings which they enjoy under the protection of the paramount power. And this appreciation receives fresh stimulus and strength when circumstances combine, as is the case to-night, to enhance the pleasure of entertaining the Viceroy as the guest of a State. These are momentous times and great indeed is my pleasure at showing honour to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford whose able statesmanship at this fateful juncture when the Empire is stemming a formidable onrush of forces of barbarism has been to India and her peoples an asset of incalculable value. For this tremendous struggle in which equity and righteousness are battling against ruthless force for future supremacy, Your Excellency has on the one hand better mobilised India's resources and laboured unceasingly to find more opportunities for her to give visible expression to her sentiments towards the British Crown and to demonstrate on the touchstone of blood and fire that instead of being a source of weakness as the enemy imagined she really is a tower of strength to the Empire. Amid the engrossing preoccupations of war time Your Excellency has, on the other hand, not forgotten the orderliness of India in its progressive development and with feelings of admiration and gratitude the country has watched Your Excellency taking pains to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people in regard to constitutional advancement. The suggestions and recommendations made in regard to Native States in the historical document to which Your Excellency has lent the weight of your name will, it is true, assume final shape only after due deliberation and discussion, but even at their present state they should, in my opinion, awaken feelings of cordial gratitude to Your Excellency and I consider myself especially fortunate in being the first ruler of an Indian State to express on a formal occasion our sense of gratefulness to Your Excellency for the abundant proof which the Reforms Scheme contains of your gracious kindness and consideration for our order.

*State Banquet at Bhopal.*

Your Excellency, our confidence in regard to the outcome of the war is absolutely unshaken and we are sure that human perversity will not be allowed by the moral force which rules the world to shatter the whole fabric of human law and justice. Our confidence gives strength to our faith for we know that Heaven's light is the guide of our Empire in this tremendous conflict and the forces of darkness are doomed ultimately to perish. The sentiments of the Bhopal Durbar in respect of the war are well-known to Your Excellency. A reference to what little I have endeavoured to do seems to me inappropriate, but I wish to take this opportunity to assure Your Excellency that it is my earnest desire to give increasing practical demonstration of the traditional devotion of the House of Bhopal to the Empire, a devotion which is writ large on every page of the history of my State. In 1894 my beloved mother established the regiment of Bhopal Imperial Service Lancers, giving it the name of the good and great English Queen of happy memory and I am proud to think that the regiment has for the last three years been doing duty in British India under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. The Sultania Imperial Service Infantry which has been established in my time and on my initiative is also ready for any imperial service it may be called upon to render. Apart from this all the resources of the State are at the service of Government and I should be truly delighted if Your Excellency would oblige me by accepting for war purposes an humble contribution of Rs. 50,000 a year from me for the duration of the war.

I will make no reference to-night to the administrative matters of my State in regard to which everything is known to Your Excellency's Government and there is nothing new to be said with the exception of suffering in the last two years of a little damage to our harvests due to causes beyond human control, my State and my people have by God's grace been in every way happy and contented. Just before Your Excellency's arrival the prospect of the harvest was becoming a source of anxiety to us this year owing to rains having held off for a considerable time, but your auspicious arrival has brought with it the long-awaited rain which, God be thanked, has saved the situation and relieved our anxiety. May I, whilst on this subject, refer to the most valuable help which my sons have given me in all matters

*State Banquet at Bhopal.*

connected with the administration of the State. It gives me immense pleasure to be able to say that all three of them have cheerfully and whole-heartedly given me of their best in their private as well as their official capacity.

I am afraid I have taken more of your time than I intended. It is a source of profound happiness to me that Your Excellency has graciously accepted my invitation to visit Bhopal and that Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford has been able to accompany Your Excellency. Her Excellency's sympathy and solicitude have been a veritable boon to the women of India and I am more grateful than I can express in words for the kindness she has done me in honouring me with a visit at a time when the long railway journey through the plains in trying weather must have been anything but pleasant. The memory of her visit will, I need hardly say, be treasured for all time by my people and particularly by the ladies of my family, and I do hope that both Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford will carry away pleasant recollections of your visit to my capital.

His Excellency made the following reply:—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen.*—My two distinguished predecessors when they visited this State were in the fortunate position of renewing ancestral relations with the House of Bhopal. I cannot claim the same privilege, but Lady Chelmsford and I are delighted to feel that we are numbered amongst Your Highness' friends, and we are greatly touched by the warmth and cordiality of your welcome.

Your Highness has alluded to the increasingly greater share which India is taking in the struggle against our common foe. I wish I had time to tell Your Highness of the splendid response which the Princes and people of India have made to the Prime Minister's appeal and to describe to you the astonishing development of the war machinery which we have set up. India has not yet put forth her full strength,

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*State Banquet at Bhopal.*

and there is need to strain every nerve and sinew in the task which we have undertaken, but we are united in our efforts for the Empire and we know that our cause is righteous.

It is now more than one hundred years since the famous treaty against the Pindaris was concluded between Bhopal and the British Power, and the friendship then established has become an enduring bond. The loyal and splendid services of Your Highness' House to the British Crown are written in history, and I need not dwell on them, but it is appropriate that I should remind my hearers on this occasion of the assistance which Your Highness has rendered in so many varied ways towards the prosecution of the war. Four years ago Your Highness placed all the resources of your State at His Majesty's disposal, and shortly afterwards, in company with His Exalted Highness the Nizam, you published a manifesto which was of high value to Government, as it testified publicly to the loyal support of the Ruler and people of the second Mahomedan State in India. You have since presented to Government valuable motor cars and launches and an armoured aeroplane, besides making many generous subscriptions to the various war funds and charities, including a donation of two lakhs to the Hospitalship *Loyalty*. You also handed over to us all your artillery horses, and the State has in addition trained for us many fresh animals which have been despatched to the various fronts. Your Imperial Service Cavalry Regiment has served for the last three years in Upper India and is now employed on the Wazir Frontier. I was much gratified recently to read a highly creditable report on the regiment after their inspection by Major-General Woodyatt. Your Highness has invested large sums in the

*State Banquet at Bhopal.*

War Loan, and has encouraged the Nobles and public of Bhopal to subscribe liberally to it. Lastly, Your Highness has, on this occasion of my visit to the State, offered to me for war expenses the generous contribution of Rs. 50,000 annually for the duration of the war. It is with very great pleasure that I accept this offer, and I shall, at an early date, communicate it to His Majesty's Government. In connection with Your Highness' war services, I would add that Your Highness' presence at Delhi, in spite of the personal inconvenience involved, on the occasion of the War Conference in April, was an evidence of your staunch and unflinching loyalty to the Throne.

In all these and many other ways Your Highness has assisted the British Empire and the Government of India in the business of the war, but at the same time you have not neglected the affairs of India and of your own State. You have attended the Conferences of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs at Delhi where our debates have owed much to your ripe wisdom and experience, and I have read with interest and profit the views which Your Highness has from time to time put forward in regard to matters of great public importance. I am glad to learn that Your Highness appreciates the efforts which the Secretary of State and I have recently been making, under the direction of His Majesty's Government, to solve the problem of Constitutional Reforms in India, and it is gratifying that our recommendations in regard to the States in particular meet with Your Highness' general approval.

Your Highness' reputation as an enlightened and conscientious Ruler is known far and wide, and it is evidenced in

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*State Banquet at Bhopal.*

the many fine institutions which adorn your State. The new offices and the library are indeed worthy of the capital of a great State, and I sincerely hope that the sanitation schemes which you have in hand will bring their just reward in a more healthy city and in the abatement of the ravages of plague. The constant interest which Your Highness has taken in the repair and excavation work at the Sanchi Topes has borne fruit in the valuable monograph which has been prepared by Sir John Marshall with the aid of a generous subvention from Your Highness. With its assistance Lady Chelmsford and I spent a most interesting and instructive morning in the examination of these very remarkable Buddhist monuments.

Your Highness' interest in the education and welfare of women is well known. The women of India have ever looked to Your Highness as the only Ruler of their own sex for help and leading, and they have not looked in vain. The responsibility which you have had to shoulder is a heavy one, but you have very nobly fulfilled your trust in testimony of which you may point to the Lady Lansdowne Hospital, the Mad-rassa-i-Sultania, the Victoria Girls' School and the Endowment Fund which you constituted in 1914 for the maintenance of Girls' Schools in Bhopal. Lastly, I may mention that I understand from Her Excellency that you are giving most generous support to Her Excellency's Silver Wedding scheme for the grant of scholarships to the children of soldiers who have lost their lives in the war.

His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to confer upon Your Highness many tokens of his regard and esteem, and it was a source of great pleasure to me that His Majesty on the 1st of January of this year appointed Your

*Opening of the Shivaji Rao Holkar High School, Indore.*

Highness to be a Dame Grand Cross of the Order of the British Empire.

In all Your Highness' labours you have been loyally supported and helped by your three sons. Your eldest son, Nawab Nasrulla Khan, would have served with his regiment in France had his health permitted, but I learn that, in spite of his infirmities, he has given gallant and devoted help to your people during a plague epidemic. Your second and third sons, Nawabzada Obeidullah Khan and Nawabzada Hamidullah Khan, as General of the State Forces and as Chief Secretary, respectively, have rendered much useful assistance in the administration of your State, and it was a great pleasure to me to welcome on my staff Major Nawabzada Obeidullah Khan as my Honorary A.-D.-C.

Your Highness, on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself, I thank you for the very kind and graceful terms in which you have proposed the toasts of our healths, and I assure you that we shall always retain very happy recollections of our visit to Your Highness' beautiful capital and of Your Highness' generous hospitality.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would now ask you to join with me in drinking the health of our hostess, Her Highness the Nawab Begum of Bhopal.

OPENING OF THE SHIVAJI RAO HOLKAR HIGH SCHOOL,  
INDORE.

7th August  
1918.

His Excellency the Viceroy arrived at Indore from Bhopal on the 6th August and on the afternoon of the 7th opened the Shivaji Rao

*Opening of the Shiraji Rao Holkar High School, Indore.*

Holkar High School. In performing the ceremony His Excellency said :—

*Your Highness*,—I have had much pleasure in accepting Your Highness' invitation to open this building which will mark in a tangible form the efforts which the Durbar are making to develop education among your people. These efforts have resulted, I understand, in an increase of the number of schools in the State from 84 in 1903, when Your Highness succeeded to the *gadi*, to its present figure of 161, and Your Highness has further stimulated progress by the appointment of a separate Director of Education, and by devoting special attention to establishing schools for girls and the training of women teachers. I have listened with much interest to the account given by your Home Minister of the history of this institution, the usefulness of which should be greatly enhanced by the fine building which is about to be opened. But before I formally declare this school open let me say just one or two words as one who has been connected to some considerable extent with education and feels strongly on the vital need for the improvement of education in this country.

You may build your fine buildings, you may spend lakhs on bricks and mortar, you may pour your children into your schools by the thousand, but unless your teaching staff is up to the mark your expenditure and your labour will have been in vain.

In the first place we should concentrate our attention on the training of our teachers. The mere possession of a degree does not constitute a teacher. The science of teaching requires to be imparted as does every other science.



*State Banquet at Indore.*

Again the teacher has held a great position in the history of India. The *guru* in the past has always commanded high respect and has been heartened by the reverence of his disciples, but teaching on the large scale which is now requisite will never obtain the dignity of an honourable profession until it comes to be regarded as a career in itself, adequately paid and with prizes before it. Your Highness' interest in education as evinced by the report of the educational activities in your State has encouraged me to dwell upon this important question. In your State the problem is one of relatively small compass—with us in British India its vastness discourages the most earnest reformer. But I am confident of this that if Your Highness were to grapple and solve this question, you would not only win for yourself the renown of an educational reformer, but you would furnish an example and stimulus to the rest of India to go and do likewise.

I have now much pleasure in declaring the Maharaja Shivaji Rao High School to be formally open.

## STATE BANQUET AT INDORE.

9th August 1918. A State Banquet was given at Indore on the 9th of August in honour of the visit of Lord and Lady Chelmsford. The toast of the guests was given by the Maharaja Holkar, who said:—

*Your Excellency*,—It has given me the greatest personal pleasure to welcome Your Excellency, as the Representative of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, and Lady Chelmsford to my State and to endeavour to show in a tangible form my grateful appreciation of the

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*State Bungalow at Indore.*

kindly hospitality which I received at the Viceregal Lodge in 1916. My desire to do so came very near gratification last year and it was a great regret to me that exigencies of State stood in the way of Your Excellencies' visit to Indore. The postponement of pleasure, however, serves but to enhance the joy of its ultimate realisation and the presence of Your Excellencies in our midst has caused the most lively satisfaction to myself and my people.

That Your Excellency should have been able to visit Central India in the midst of the immense responsibilities connected with the great war speaks volumes for the efficiency of the Government machinery and is full of the brightest augury for the future. Your Excellency's arrival coincides with the series of brilliant victories which the Allies are now winning, gladdening the hearts of all in the world who are anxious that the cause of liberty, justice and truth should triumph. In answer to Your Excellency's stirring message on the anniversary of the war, calling for India's fullest and most ungrudging help in the final stages of the struggle. I repeat my assurance given in the beginning of the war that all my resources are at His Majesty's disposal. I and my people have already done what we can. I am proud to say that my troops have been at the front since the outbreak of the war and have earned distinctions which show that their services have been approved. My State has done its best towards contributing to the sinews of the war. Only in recruiting has my State fallen short of the standards achieved in other parts of India. But Malwa, as Your Excellency knows, is so sparsely populated that the labour question is a perennial difficulty; the people have no martial traditions: and I venture to think that in devoting their energies to the outturn of articles which now war needs their services are being employed though indirectly to the best advantage in the prosecution of the war.

Your Excellencies have also brought with you the much-needed rain, but for which the standing crops would have perished in another few days. The excessive rainfall last year resulted in considerable distress amongst the agricultural classes and a failure of this year's kharif, which the present rain has saved, would have meant famine under conditions which would have made the task of alleviating distress more

*State Banquet at Indore.*

than usually difficult, even though my Ministers have practised all possible economies by retrenching expenditure on account of the war.

I am very glad to be able to say that in these abnormal times the cordial relations that exist between me and my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Bosanquet have been a source of gratification to me.

When from the present terrible conflict the cause of right emerges triumphant over the enemy and peace reigns over the sorely tried world, there will be time enough to take up with greater zeal the various threads of human progress. Till then, all efforts and energies are concentrated on the successful prosecution of the war. The times require great self-sacrifice from high and low alike, and India is indeed fortunate in having as its Viceroy His Excellency Lord Chelmsford who, both in his private and official capacity, has shown such a high standard of the sacrifice of self at the altar of duty.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking the health of my honoured guests Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Chelmsford.

In reply His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—First let me express, on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself, warm thanks for the generous terms in which His Highness has proposed our healths and for the cordiality with which the toast has been received. It has been a great pleasure to us to visit Indore and to enjoy the hospitality of its Ruler. And it is to myself a source of gratification to have this opportunity of marking my appreciation of the assistance Your Highness has rendered towards the prosecution of the war, and of the steps you have taken to develop the administration of the State.

The war record of your Imperial Service Troops is one of which Your Highness may well be proud. Your Highness' Transport Corps has seen service in France, Gallipoli, Salonika, Egypt and Mesopotamia, and elicited most favourable mention

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*State Banquet at Indore.*

from the General Officers Commanding in the Field. Foremost among the distinctions which it has gained is the 1st Class of the Order of British India won by its capable Commanding Officer, the late Sardar Bahadur Major Lutf Ali Khan ; and Indore, I am sure, will long keep the memory of that gallant officer green. Your Highness' mounted escort also has done good service in Mesopotamia under its Commanding Officer, Major Bhawani Singh, to whom the 2nd Class of the Order of British India has been awarded. And apart from these services in the field, the House of Holkar has earned our gratitude by Your Highness' liberal contributions towards the war, which in money alone have exceeded 20 lakhs of rupees. I listened with pleasure to Your Highness' eloquent renewal of your offer to place all the resources of your State at the service of the King-Emperor and my pleasure will be shared by all who read your speech to-morrow.

In the internal administration of the State I rejoice that progress has been possible despite the imperious necessities of the war. Agriculture, which is the backbone of the State, has been particularly well served. Here indeed there is no conflict between the needs of war and peace : for in effecting large increases in the acreage under wheat and other food-grains the Durbar are not only developing the resources of the State, but are rendering a service to the Empire, on the value of which the recent War Conference at Delhi laid special stress. On the conclusion of the revenue settlement in which, I understand, the present Chief Minister, Major Ram Pershad Dube, made his name, the Durbar wisely enlisted Mr. Moreland's services and on the recommendation of that well-known authority on economics introduced the joint co-operative system with notable success. More recently Your

*State Banquet at Indore.*

Highness' Government initiated a scheme for an agricultural adviser to a group of States, and were fortunate in securing for the post Mr. Coventry, late Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, under whose guidance much has already been done towards investigating agricultural problems. These measures, coupled with the wise policy of keeping trade unhampered by export duties and of granting prompt and liberal suspensions and remissions of revenue whenever necessary, have been of great benefit to the cultivators, on whose well-being the prosperity of the State so largely depends.

The efficiency of the State Police, which dates from Your Highness' minority, has ensured for Your Highness' subjects security of life and property ; the State is well provided with roads and administrative buildings ; and satisfactory progress has been made in the enlarging of fodder supplies, the conservation of the State forests, the development of municipalities, the spread of education and the provision of medical relief.

Such administrative efficiency could not have been achieved and maintained without the close personal interest and supervision of His Highness the Maharaja, and I hope that he will permit me to congratulate him on the success of his efforts to promote the welfare of his people. I was particularly glad to hear from Your Highness' lips a friendly reference to Mr. Bosanquet, who has been for so many years connected with the Indore State and has done so much to promote its prosperity.

I will now ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join in drinking the health of our host, His Highness Maharaja Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar Bahadur, Maharaja of Indore.

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BANQUET AT DHAR.

Their Excellencies arrived at Dhar on the 10th August and attended a Banquet on the evening of the 13th idem. 13th August 1918.

His Highness addressed the guests as follows:—

*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—It is my honoured privilege this evening to offer Your Excellencies a most cordial welcome to Dhar, a welcome in which my family, and my people of all castes and creeds from highest to lowest do most heartily join. Though Your Excellencies' visit to Central India had perforce been postponed last year owing to weightier matters engaging your attention and time, I am delighted that your keen interest in our welfare has, in spite of the formidable distractions of the present moment, rendered your visit this year possible and for this mark of kindness I am deeply indebted.

*Happy* as the occasion is, it has proved to be felicitous by the presence of Her Excellency, whose gracious hospitality and kindness along with those of Your Excellency's, I had the honour of receiving during my stay at Delhi last year and of which I have brought with me pleasantest recollections and ever-lasting impressions.

Though my State is situated far away from the heart of civilization, yet I know that I am not forgotten but live in the gracious thoughts of my beloved master His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor as Your Excellency is the fourth representative of His Majesty who has graced my capital, an ancient seat of learning and scholarship, where King Bhoj—the author Prince reigned and poets like Kalidas flourished and sang. Though its glory is dimmed and its splendour faded, sweet memories of this past still linger round Dhar and Mandu. It has ever been a seat of happy rule where loyal and peaceful people lived and still live in sweet contentment. Though it has none of the attractions of a busy town or of a flourishing commercial city and can hardly accord Your Excellency a befitting reception, yet our profound devotion, steadfast loyalty and heartfelt gratitude will, we hope, be kindly accepted as making up our deficiencies and short-comings.

*Your Excellency,*—It is a matter of history that it was a glorious and fortunate day for India when she first came in contact with the

*Banquet at Dhar.*

West, the advent of the British Rule in India heralded the first dawn of Peace and Progress after centuries of confusion, chaos, and distress. The veil of darkness, which shrouded the land and engulfed its people in prejudices and ignorance began for the first time, to be uplifted, as Her prestine Glory had long disappeared before internecine strife and racial discords which had plunged Her deep into an abyss of forgetfulness that seemed almost eternal. From this miserable state the Benign Providence meant to deliver her, and it was done at the sympathetic hands of a Nation whose sense of justice, freedom and liberty have ever been proverbial. The Sun of glory thus rose and emerged triumphant out of chaos and strife, and it was no longer possible to shut out its light. Its purifying rays entered the most secluded spots and removed the accumulated evil of centuries. New openings were visible leading to nobler paths and formed vistas of hope and progress and of brighter prospects and a surer and happier future. None, I think, derived more benefit and enjoyed more blessings from them than Dhar and none happier than its people of more grateful than the House of Dhar and I myself as its Ruler.

Since the time of my late lamented father Maharaja Sir Anand Rao Puar of revered and dear memory the foundation of the State administration has striven to adapt itself to modern forms of government made possible by the carefully-adjusted machinery introduced during my minority by able officers—such as Colonel Beville to whose work during his long tenure of the post of Political Agent here the State owes a great debt of gratitude. They welded the State into a compact whole, removed objectionable customs and oppressive practices, and instituted confidence in the heart of all, and every man and women in my State can now approach me personally with their sorrows and grievances, if they think they have failed to receive redress in the ordinary way.

Thus to develop the agricultural resources of the State to their fullest extent my Durbar have participated in the scheme of jointly maintaining an Agricultural Adviser for the States of Central India, with whose advice an experimental farm has been established and the results of the experiments made so far, both in labour-saving plough

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*Banquet at Dhar.*

and seed selection, have opened up prospects of improving indigenous systems and with the gradual wider diffusion of these methods it is hoped that the products of superior marketable value may ultimately replace the present inferior produce of the land. But much will depend on the problem of supply of the labour which as elsewhere in Malwa is gradually becoming very acute in Dhar.

Everything is being done to forward education and every village with 500 inhabitants has its own school. The demand for schools is growing yearly and schools supported by voluntary contributions are becoming common.

Female education is slowly becoming popular ; but its extension is rendered difficult by the inadequate supply of qualified mistresses.

Education in managing their own affairs is being given by the gradual introduction of village *panchayats*, of which the members deal with their own affairs including simple judicial cases. It is hoped that this will in time develop the idea of responsible citizenship. The introduction of Co-operative Society is also being taken up.

The educative value of these movements is everywhere recognized and it is hoped that a greater demand for facilities for education, and for wider field for their action and a closer and more intelligent grasp of their own affairs will gradually be evolved, and so may, in time, lead to the realization of the conception of responsible citizenship with the State. The separation of executive from the judiciary has led to a more prompt administration of justice. Another paramount duty of every Ruler is to secure the health of his people, on which depends the development of their mental and moral faculties, as well as their happiness and prosperity. To effect this arrangements on modern lines have been made to give medical relief. In this direction the recent completion of the King Edward Memorial Hospital at Dhar has removed a long felt want, and I trust it will preserve ever green, in the heart of my people, the sacred and the blessed memory of that great and good Monarch King Edward VII. In the Districts also similar institutions have been established where my subjects receive medical aid free of charge.



*Banquet at Dhar.*

The resources of the State are gradually being developed. A liberal Land Revenue Settlement and the proper organization of the Forest Department during the last few years are its principal features. The introduction of well-defined Excise Administration coupled with the regulation of the fiscal policy of the State have contributed towards its prosperity. The potentiality of the State in producing the raw materials for the Indian market is slowly, but steadily being recognised and though the local capital has been shy of big enterprises small ventures have been started from time to time. A great impetus has been given by this world-wide war which has revived some old industries whose permanency will depend on the facilities of communications such as roads and railways, but much more on the market which Indian products will find after the war.

*Your Excellencies*,—I have already made a large draft on your indulgence, but I crave for a little more patience.

This world-wide war has rendered many things possible which were impossible before, and I hope you will agree with me that India owes much to General Templer for his services rendered in these times to develop the economic resources of the country in the direction of horse-breeding, and establishment of my stud farm has been the result of his keen interest.

There is too my relations with my guaranteed feudatories. They are all the pillars of my State of the Empire. I regret that a sense of aloofness still exists in some quarters, but I hope the time has come when the broad principles which underlie these settlements will be realised and a sense of duty and co-operation with the mother State will be created; so that the aims and ambitions of these feudatories will be united with the general interests of the State.

I am glad that my relations with Your Excellency's Political Officers have always been cordial, and I am now thankful to Your Excellency for extending the term of office of the Hon'ble Mr. Bosanquet, as Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, whose long and varied experience and intricate knowledge of the varied affairs of the States in Central India have enabled him to assist us with

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sympathetic but strong advice in many matters to the advantage of all concerned for which I am sure all the States in Central India and I certainly personally am most grateful to him. I am also glad that I have in Colonel Luard an old friend and able officer whose keen interest in the welfare of my State has always been much valued. It will not be out of place, I hope, if I express my approbation of all my officers from highest to the lowest for helping me in my work. While there is no end to improvement and democratic ideas are spreading everywhere I have to march along on the path of progress with caution, and though I would not spare any pains or money required for the good of my people, I would prefer to see that the results of whatever has been done for them are permanent before doing more, so that they might not fail to realise the benefits conferred, and what is more important to assimilate them.

At this juncture, especially when the Empire is passing through so terrible an ordeal, it is our paramount duty to save every ounce of our energy and money to help the Empire for whom the fate of civilization is trembling in the balance; it is no good hoping to extend civilization so long as civilization itself is threatened. Let us win the war, and all the rest will follow. With this principle before me as soon as the war was declared I offered my humble services along with the resources of the State, for the cause of my beloved Master and the Empire. What little I could do is only a drop in the ocean. But I and my people have the satisfaction to feel that our humble mite had a place in the endless and mighty resources of the Empire in her hour of supreme need. Though reward or applause is not a motive for our duty to the Empire, the continual showers of my Master's favours are manifestations of His Majesty's magnanimity, and I have accepted them as Royal blessings and feel deeply grateful for them. I am glad that my people have heartily responded to the supreme call of duty by subscribing to the War Loan, but at the same time I much regret that they having no *military traditions* in the past, could not do much in the shape of contribution of man-power to the Empire. However liberal concession and attractive offers have been made in the shape of gifts and land grants and these measures, I hope, will prove incentive towards the recruitment in my State. We must strain

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every nerve to bring victory nearer. I feel positively sure that in whatever my House and my people may lack, we shall not be found wanting in our loyalty and service to the Empire. And if we are poor in anything else, we are rich in this, and I trust Your Lordship will graciously be pleased to convey to His Majesty our humble assurances of our abiding loyalty and profound devotion to His Majesty's Person and his Throne.

For all the opportunities given to the Indian States during this Titanic and world-wide struggle, if our thanks are due to your illustrious predecessor Lord Hardinge of Penshurst they are much more due to Your Excellency for all you have done for us for while Lord Hardinge cemented the friendship of the States with the paramount power, Your Lordship has turned them into a true part and parcel of the Empire, an integral constituent of its fabric, a real partner in her future. A new life has been inspired into these portions of the Empire and as branches they will grow with her growth. The recent Chelmsford-Montagu Indian Reforms should bring us closer to the Empire. In the annals of India it is a most noble and a glorious venture, a very embodiment of "Sympathy" in realisation of our expectations of the "Legacy of Hope" graciously left to the people of India by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor at Delhi.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*—India had not been in such a proud position of trust as she is to-day, but for the sympathetic guiding hands of so wise a statesman as my illustrious guest of to-night, in whom the Princes of India feel sure that they have a practical and real friend and a skilful statesman. Much will however depend on us ourselves and we must show that we are worthy of the great trust imposed.

The blessings derived from the noble qualities of my illustrious guest are augmented by the gracious and sympathetic interest always taken by Lady Chelmsford in whose kindness the goddess Laxmi must rejoice. We all know the noble work for mitigating the sufferings of the sick and the wounded which Her Excellency organised in "Our Day". The memory of works like these, suffering humanity will preserve in the innermost recesses of their hearts. The distressed and the afflicted, the motherless and the orphans know that in Her Excellency

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they have found a second mother as kind and sympathetic as their own. May the Almighty grant Their Excellencies long life and crown their efforts with success and we may soon welcome the day, when this Titanic struggle will end in the triumphant victory of the allied arms and the peace and progress of mankind be secured and the great name of England be dear to every heart as the invisible supporter of the principles of freedom and liberty as opposed to autocracy and militarism. With these few words I request you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to fill your glasses and drink to the health of my illustrious guests Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Chelmsford.

The Viceroy in reply said :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I have listened with great pleasure to Your Highness' speech, the warmth of which comes, I feel sure, from the heart; and I thank Your Highness heartily for your friendly allusion to myself and my wife and to the work which we are trying to do for India.

I am glad to learn from Your Highness' lips the steps which you are taking to improve the administration of your State, as Ruler of which you are so deservedly popular: and I am particularly interested to hear of your experiments in agriculture and in horse-breeding, which I trust will have beneficial results. But what pleases me even more than this is your testimony to the benefits of British rule in India and in particular to the work of the officers of Government both during your minority and since you received your powers. At a time like this when great changes are impending in India, such assurances afford encouragement to those responsible to the King Emperor for the good government of this great Empire. Mr. Bosanquet, Colonel Beville, and Colonel Luard may well take pride in your public declaration of gratitude for

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the work that they have done for you and for the friendly advice which they have tendered to you. Your declaration is also a source of great satisfaction to me as the head of the Government of India, since it implies a complete confidence in the motives governing our policy in regard to the Indian States, whose interests we look upon during a minority as a sacred trust, and at all times, as identical with our own. The steps which we have taken, and are taking, to improve our relations with the States and to bring them into closer union with the Empire can only be really successful if they are recognised by the Princes as prompted by a sincere desire for the mutual advantage of both parties. I congratulate Your Highness on your recognition of this principle and shall look forward with great interest to the views which you will, I hope, frankly express at the next Conference on the momentous questions which will be placed before the Princes for discussion. I need hardly assure Your Highness that the Government of India are concerned to safeguard the rights, privileges and interests of the relatively small States no less than those of their larger neighbours, and welcome their Rulers equally cordially as partners and co-workers.

Your Highness has asked me to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor an assurance of your loyalty and devotion to the Crown and I shall have great pleasure in transmitting the message. That loyalty and devotion has been shown not only in words but also in deeds. Your contributions to the war have been many and generous, and it has been special pleasure to me to notice that among the long list of these contributions are several emanating from Her Highness the Maharani. Although Your Highness has modestly alluded to your war services as drop in the ocean, we know that they

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represent the offering of a true and loyal friend, who is always ready to do his utmost to serve the Empire, and it was in recognition of that spirit that you have been given the hereditary title of Maharaja the *Sanad* conferring which I had the pleasure of placing in your hands to-day.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now ask you to join with me in drinking the health of our distinguished host, Maharaja Sir Udaji Rao Puar of Dhar.

OPENING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,  
SIMLA SESSION, 1918.

The first meeting of the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on the 4th September, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. There was a very large attendance of visitors and almost all the Members of the Council were present. After certain Members had taken the prescribed oath of allegiance, His Excellency addressed the Council as follows:—

Since we separated at the close of the winter session, I have had the privilege of meeting a large number of Honourable Members at that historic Conference which assembled at Delhi in the last week of April. It was an assemblage without precedent in the history of India. In it Princes, representatives of the people, and Government, sat for the first time in joint conclave, taking counsel together how India could best rally her forces anew in the cause for which the Empire is fighting. I expected much from that Conference. I have not been disappointed. It has been more than justified by success. Without it the splendid results of the last four months could never have been achieved.

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The material results of the Conference were great, but I am almost tempted to think that its moral effects were greater. I had convened the Conference that India might proclaim her unity of purpose in the Empire's cause, and pledge her fullest service in the prosecution of the war. How well the Conference answered to my call, let its resolutions testify. They proclaimed to all the world that India stood solid for the cause of right—which our Empire has made its own; and that much though India had done, she would never rest in putting forth her strength until that cause was triumphant. Since then those resolutions have been translated into fact. Some of us may have chafed at the delay over this or that—a delay in which India had no part. But do not let us forget the overwhelming burden that lay on those at home, with whom the ultimate decision rested.

One immediate result of the Conference was to call upon India to add half a million men to her Army in the ensuing year. Well might we have shrunk from such an undertaking had not the Central Recruiting Board been already in being. But the Board set itself at once to the task, and over 97,000 combatant and nearly 55,000 non-combatant recruits were enlisted in May, June and July. As for the new units which, with the approval of the military authorities at home, we set ourselves to raise, the results have outrun our expectations. Of the total number, two-thirds and more have been raised already. I wish I could tell you how many men we have recruited and sent overseas since the beginning of the war. But military reasons compel reticence. This much, however, I can say: we are now recruiting twice as many men in a month as before the war we recruited in a year. This fine record is due to the labours of the Central Recruiting Board,

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backed by whole-hearted co-operation in the provinces. And now that the increases in the emoluments of our Indian troops and the grant of King's Commissions, long-awaited and powerfully advocated at the Conference, have been announced, I look forward to a finer record still.

The success of the Central Recruiting Board, with its blend of soldiers and civilians and Indian Princes and its enlistment of non-official energies in the provinces and Native States, pointed the obvious way to that readjusting and speeding up of our whole war machinery on which the Conference laid stress. So we set up similar central boards to cope with supplies, traffic, labour and publicity—all under the co-ordinating guidance of the War Resources Committee. Let me briefly remind you of their scope.

To the Transport and Food-stuffs Board is allotted the organisation of our animal and mechanical transport, the fuller development of our food-stuffs and their more economical distribution. The bare recital of its duties sounds dull and unheroic. But this war is a war of material no less than of man-power. And now that the partial failure of the monsoon has reduced our food-stuffs resources, it is of the greater importance to husband and distribute them to the best advantage. Before the war, Government looked askance at any proposal to restrict the export of food-grains abroad or their free passage from province to province. Restriction was regarded as heresy. According to the orthodox doctrine the movement of food-grains must be left to follow its natural channels. But the war has upset many cherished theories; has forced on our shoulders responsibilities from which we should have shrunk a few years back. And it is now one of



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the main tasks of the Board to review the resources and needs of India as a whole, to reduce the cross-currents of food-stuffs and fodder to a minimum, and to graduate the flow, as evenly as may be, from the higher to the lower levels.

The Communications Board takes up the task of husbanding and pooling our resources where the Food-stuffs Board leaves it. It regulates traffic, holding the balance even between military and civil demands; and working through Provincial Directors of Supplies ensures priority to the carriage of commodities where they are most urgently required. Thanks to its labours, traffic has now become systematised, and railway transport is being put to its most economical use.

The Employment and Labour Board places its advice at the disposal of those anxious to offer their services in the present crisis. It keeps us in close touch with the conditions of labour; watches the variations in the market; and advises us how the supply can best be utilised for the ever-increasing needs of Indian industries and overseas development.

The Publicity Board is entrusted with the spread of truth. It emphasises the essential principles for which the Allies are fighting; the vital interest of India in the triumph of our cause. It sets forth the actual war situation from day to day, and contradicts the false rumours that spring up—who knows whence?—sapping the confidence and energy of the people. It advertises what India has done, in order to drive home what still remains for India to do. Its composition is largely non-official, and in the inclusion of distinguished journalists lies more than half the secret of its success. Publicity Committees have been set up in all the larger provinces and in many of the Native States, and are working with

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the zeal that comes from conviction. Some have established war journals of their own; others are reaching the masses by magic lantern lectures, cinematographs and the distribution of pamphlets. But one and all rely on the co-operation of the Press. And I would here voice my appreciation of the powerful help received from publicists and journalists of all shades of opinion. It is, after all, but another proof that, however much we are divided in our politics, we are one in the determination that India shall do her part in bringing the war to a triumphant conclusion.

But this hurried review of the working of our Boards gives a very meagre idea of the vivifying influence of the Conference on all branches of India's war effort. Let us turn again to the expansion of our man-power. The Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, ever foremost in the cause of the Empire, have responded to the call for further assistance. Signal service though the Imperial Service troops of many States have rendered on every front—which of us, for instance, was not stirred by the gallant charge of the Jodhpur Lancers in Palestine?—the Durbars are now being invited to afford their troops the opportunity for more effective service still by incorporating them during the war in the regular Army. In the Native States at large a scheme is on foot to raise battalions for the Army composed, as far as may be, of subjects of the State, but officered, paid and equipped by Government. The scheme has met with a ready welcome. In Jodhpur, Bikaner, Bharatpur and Dholpur, in Kolhapur, and in Patiala, Chamba and Suket, units on the new model, are now in process of formation. And from Baroda, from Mysore, from Alwar, from Rewa, from Tehri, and from

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Bahawalpur, Jhind, Kapurthala, Maler Kotla and Faridkot offers of similar help have been pouring in.

To the Police we addressed a special call to enrol themselves in the Army, and five police battalions have already been incorporated, two from the Punjab, two from the United Provinces and one from Bihar and Orissa. Gallantly indeed has that gallant body of men responded to our call.

Meanwhile the British branch of the Indian Defence Force has been playing its useful if unobtrusive part, and we are now considering how its usefulness can be extended. But I cannot hide my disappointment at the record of the Indian branch of the force. We re-opened recruiting for it in April in response to what we were told was a genuine demand. But less than 500 recruits have so far offered themselves for enrolment. We have made good in the other enterprises to which we have set our hand. Shall we not make good here also ?

With the rapid expansion of the Army in India the demand for labour for military purposes has gone up by leaps and bounds. Taught by the war the advantage of employing labour in organised bodies, we have formed or are forming no less than 18 labour corps for work in India alone. Of the many labour companies sent to France in 1917, all have now returned with the exception of those formed from later reinforcements. They have returned in admirable condition and with a record of excellent service in strange and sometimes trying surroundings. And that they have returned gratified with the treatment that they have received, their prompt re-enrolment in large numbers is the best proof of all.

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So much for the development of our man-power. But India does not give in man-power alone. Her contribution to the second War Loan has now passed the 20 million sterling which we set before us as the minimum, and I look to a notable addition before the War Loan closes by the middle of the month. But at the Conference something further was foreshadowed; and what form that further financial assistance should take, Honourable Members be will asked at this session to consider. A Resolution on the subject will be moved by the Honourable Finance Member. But the decision itself will be left to the non-official Members.

And over and above her financial contributions, and over and above the many shiploads of food-stuffs and raw products with which she has been supplying the Allies, India continues to furnish Mesopotamia and other theatres of war with masses of railway material and a vast variety of engineering and other stores. These are found partly from our stocks of imports, partly from India's indigenous resources. The drain on our imports has been continuous and severe; the flow of fresh supplies is restricted; and it is becoming increasingly difficult for India to meet all the demands that are made upon her. It is becoming increasingly difficult indeed for her to supply her own needs, and public bodies are turning more and more to our central organisation for assistance. The depletion of our stocks of imports has stimulated the development of our resources, and we are doing what is possible under war conditions to foster local manufactures. What India can do when she puts forth her strength and enlists the services of experts from outside is shown by the great success of the Tata Steel Works, which has supplied most of the military railway requirements.

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in the Eastern theatres of war. One notable demand on India has now been materially reduced—the provision of river-craft for the Tigris and Euphrates. And here let me acknowledge India's indebtedness to the River-craft Board at Calcutta and the Committees at other ports associated with it, for their valuable services, given ungrudgingly and without remuneration, in directing this work of construction. Their work has been heavy. Apart from furnishing 100 steel pontoons, they have constructed over 400 river-crafts and have re-erected two hospital steamers, five tugs and 70 barges.

Now these and other results from the stimulated mobilisation of India's resources could not have been achieved without stress and strain. In that stress and strain all have shared in varying degree,—officials, business men and general community alike. For the most part the burden has been borne cheerfully. Where murmurings and grumbings have been heard, they can almost always be traced to a failure to recognise that the restrictions or hardships or whatever the objects of complaint may be, arise from the imperious necessities of war.

There have been widespread murmurings over high prices. Here in India, it is true, we have suffered less than most parts of the world, thanks to the fleet which has kept open the highway of the seas, and to our gallant armies which hold the enemy many hundreds of miles from India's frontier. Nonetheless war must always bring high prices in its train. And there are unhappily cases where manufacturers and traders have taken advantage of the war and the shortage it occasions to demand artificial prices hugely in excess of the cost of production or

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import. Where materials required for war purposes are affected, we cannot afford to sit idle. If needs must, we shall not shrink from drastic action.

But it is not in regard to war materials alone that I view high prices with concern. I view with even greater concern the pressure of the growing rise in the price of necessities on the poorer classes in the country. The dearness of cotton cloth in particular presses the masses hard. Its causes are many:—the high price of raw cotton throughout the world, the high cost of manufacture of the imported cloth, the reduction in the volume of British manufactures available for the general public. To increase the imports of Manchester cloth or to lower its price does not lie within our power. The solution of the problem must be sought on other lines. And the lines we have been advised to follow by the Committee (drawn largely from the trade) whose services we enlisted last March, are two-fold. First, the prevention of speculation in raw cotton. Second, the standardisation in India of the cloths used by the poorer classes, and their manufacture and distribution under control. The first measure we have already put into effect, by empowering the Government of Bombay to regulate forward contracts for the purchase or sale of the next cotton crop. In the carrying out of the second measure we rely on Hon'ble Members' assistance. We are introducing a Bill at this session to require our mills to manufacture certain kinds and certain quantities of cloth, to be paid for at cost price *plus* a reasonable margin of profits, and to be sold to the public at fixed prices through licensed shops or at Government depôts. That there may be difficulties at the outset in carrying this scheme into effect, I freely recognise. But I have every hope that with the co-operation of mill-owners, cloth-sellers

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and public these difficulties will be overcome, and that the scheme will bring relief to those who need it most.

Again there is the currency question. At the Delhi Conference I referred to certain rumours then afloat as to the ability of Government to meet their obligations to encash currency notes at currency offices. There had been an unprecedented drain on our stocks of metallic currency in connection with purchases for His Majesty's Government, and an unfortunate delay in obtaining fresh supplies of silver to replenish them. This obliged us to curtail those extra-legal facilities for the free encashment of notes outside the currency offices, which have been an important feature of our currency policy in recent years. But the United States of America came to our rescue and undertook to supply us with silver in large quantities. Substantial instalments have arrived in India. Indeed our mints have been busily coining them into rupees for some time past. They have also been coining our gold bullion into mohurs, which have already been used for the purchase of wheat in the Punjab and have been well received. They are now engaged on the coinage of sovereigns.

We are thus increasingly able to meet the difficulties which temporarily faced us a few months ago. But let me again emphasise how unprofitable to India is this lavish outpouring of metallic currency. The purchase of the silver alone means that India's money is being spent abroad to unfruitful purpose. Should the present rates of absorption continue to the end of the year, more than 100 crores of India's money will have been squandered within three short years. Had it been invested, the interest would have strengthened our revenues and could have been spent to India's material advantage. Everybody

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therefore who insists on payment's in metal instead of in notes is directly hampering India's interests. We all know the parable of the servant who, entrusted by his master with a talent of silver, buried it in the ground instead of putting it to profitable use. He was rightly treated as an unprofitable servant. The moral of the old parable holds good to-day. From time immemorial India has been held up to reproach as the grave of the precious metals. If she is to take her proper place among the progressive nations of the world, she must in her own interests do as Japan and other civilised nations do—put her hitherto immobile wealth to profitable uses. Happily there are signs that she is slowly—if very slowly—freeing herself from her old-world prejudice. The small notes which had to take the place of the rupee as a medium of circulation during the temporary restrictions on encashment are gradually shedding the suspicion with which they were originally regarded, and are now, we are assured, becoming more popular in various parts of the country.

But Hon'ble Members will expect me to say something on the question of Reforms, and I think I can deal best with the subject by recalling past history. Men's memories are so short that they dwell on the present and ignore the past which leads up to and conditions the present. And this has been notably the case in connexion with this great subject of Reform.

At the outset of my tenure of office I warned those who were insistent on political reform that the British temperament was averse from catastrophic change. This expression of opinion was the subject of criticism, and the Russian revolution which took place shortly afterwards was seized upon as



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a text on which to base claims to sweeping changes. I think those who sang a pæan over the Russian events have since repented. Russia indeed has pointed a moral which it would do us all good to take to heart.

Let me remind Honourable Members further. In my opening speech to the Council of February 1917 I informed you that the Government of India had addressed His Majesty's Government on the subject of political Reform; and, as I told you in the September Session, I continued to press His Majesty's Government for a declaration of policy throughout the first six months of the year.

This declaration of policy we obtained on August 20th. That policy was not a new policy devised on the spur of the moment by a Secretary of State fresh to office. It was a policy long and anxiously considered by His Majesty's Government, the promulgation of which happened to coincide with a change in the office of Secretary of State. Nor was Mr. Montagu's visit a happy thought on his part. As I pointed out last September, it was merely the carrying out of a plan on which I had long set my heart, with this change only that Mr. Chamberlain's resignation involved the transfer of my invitation to Mr. Montagu.

It is well to recall these events to the memory of those who attack the Secretary of State as the rash innovator stepping in with a new and cut-and-dried policy immediately on his assumption of office. To these critics I would point out the sequence of events. Can it be seriously suggested that after a few days' tenure of office by a new Secretary of State His Majesty's Government would embark on an announcement of the gravity of that of August 20th, unless

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they had previously had it under their most careful consideration? The suggestion in its statement carries its own refutation. Mr. Montagu simply took up the policy where Mr. Chamberlain had left it.

As for those who repudiate what they choose to term disappointing and unacceptable proposals, I would remind them again of my repeated warning that expectations must not be carried to heights of catastrophic change. In the Legislative Council in Delhi last February, with Mr. Montagu present, I spoke of sane and sober change. I have always been careful to weigh my words, to avoid raising expectations beyond those which my words would warrant. If there are those who have built up hopes on the word of others, it is of them they must make complaint and not of me.

I turn now to the announcement of August 20th. I cannot help thinking that some of our critics to-day have forgotten that any such statement of policy was ever made. That announcement carried the weight and authority not of the Viceroy or Secretary of State, but of His Majesty's Government. It was not challenged in Parliament at the time; it has not been challenged in Parliament since. It was received both at home and in India—I believe I do not put it too high—with general satisfaction. And those who criticise our Report are on sure ground if they can show that our proposals are not in consonance with it. But am I far wrong when I suggest that there are two schools of critics who write and speak as if the announcement of August 20th had never been made at all?—those who reject its basic pledge and those who reject the limitations whereby that pledge was conditioned?

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I have always regarded the announcement of August 20th as the terms of reference in accordance with which the Secretary of State and I had to discharge the duty laid upon us during these last winter months. I regard it now as the touchstone that must be applied to our proposals. If they fall short of the policy embodied in it, then those who complain of their inadequacy have good ground for asking for a further extension of the scheme. On the other hand, if our proposals trespass beyond the limits it imposed upon us, they should be brought within its bounds. We had the right neither to fall short of nor to go beyond our terms of reference.

I come now to the proposals themselves. Let me once again refer to the two schools of our critics. According to one the Secretary of State is the villain of the piece; the Viceroy his unhappy victim, who has put his signature to the Report perforce and against his better judgment. According to the other, a sympathetic Secretary of State has been enmeshed in the net of the cold hard bureaucracy and has consented to proposals far short of those he would otherwise have advocated.

I am going to ignore these criticisms. Issues of the magnitude of our proposals are outside and beyond the personal factor. Our proposals are before the public for criticism. How we arrived at our results, is neither here nor there. The one question at issue is: the scheme, is it good or bad? if bad, how best can it be amended? But that you may know that it did not spring forth in full panoply from our brains, like Athena from the head of Zeus, let me give you in brief the history of its production.

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In the third paragraph of the Report we have sketched in the barest outline the course of our investigation. The sketch gives but a faint impression of the close touch which we preserved with the Members of the Government of India throughout. Indeed from our return to Delhi early in January up to our departure for Dehra Dun at the end of March we were in daily communication with them. All that time the proposals were being hammered out in frequent conferences both with them and with the Members of the Secretary of State's delegation. I could point out the originators of this or that proposal in our scheme, but it would be beside the mark. What I wish to emphasise is the very careful examination which this great problem received not only from the Secretary of State and myself, but from my Colleagues and those distinguished gentlemen who accompanied Mr. Montagu. We followed up every possible line of advance. We scrutinized all the suggestions which had been offered to us. It was only after the most careful sifting of suggested policies that we decided upon the proposals in our scheme.

Surely it is not without significance that my Colleagues signed a despatch conveying their "cordial support to the general policy which the Report embodies"; that the associates of the Secretary of State recorded their united support of our recommendations, which in their view, "while safeguarding Imperial interests and providing for the proper maintenance of law and order, carry out His Majesty's Government's announcement of 20th August last by providing at once for such an instalment of self-government as is at present practicable and safe, together with statutory machinery for its development at subsequent stages";

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and that the Council of India put on record a minute giving the general policy of our scheme their unanimous support.

Those who would lay stress then on the personal factor in this issue would do well to remember that it is not enough to dispose of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. They have to account for this very weighty consensus of official opinion.

I will now turn to a general consideration of the criticisms of our proposals. It is obviously impossible for me to deal with them *seriatim* within the compass of a speech, but it may be useful to indicate my attitude in general terms. I take my stand in the first place on the announcement of August 20th. The policy embodied in that announcement is binding at all events on me. I cannot recognise the validity of criticisms which impeach it. For me they must be out of court. The place where they should be heard is the High Court of Parliament. And I would remind Hon'ble Members that such criticisms have never once been advanced in Parliament during the twelve months since that statement of policy was made. They were not even forthcoming in the debate on the Indian Budget, the occasion of all others when the critics of our policy might have been expected to make a brave show.

In the second place, I wish to remind Honourable Members of a significant sentence which occurs in paragraph 289 of the Report:—"We have carried the advance right up to the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go." I will content myself with this extract, but the whole of the remainder of the paragraph is pertinent.

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What I wish to emphasise is this. "Substantial steps" were promised. In my own heart I am confident that "substantial steps" are provided in our proposals. We have not kept back something like hucksterers in the market, something which we would be prepared to give as a result of pressure. Everything has been placed on the table for all men to see. In the words of the Report "We have carried the advance right up to the line beyond which our principles forbid us to go".

But within that line we are prepared to consider criticisms and suggestions. Far be it from me to claim any infallibility for our proposals. I would however say this—that it is for those who criticise to offer their alternative to our plan. We found nothing easier during the course of our inquiry last cold weather than to riddle with criticism each and every suggestion made to us. The problem before us was to select the scheme which would be open to criticism least. For do not forget this. Our task was to devise a transitional constitution containing within itself potentialities of advance, together with the machinery by which at definite periods that advance could be secured. Such a transitional constitution must in the nature of things be peculiarly open to attack, and the Secretary of State and I made it clear in our Report that we recognised this to be the case. Let me quote our own words. "Hybrid executives, limited responsibility, assemblies partly elected and partly nominated, divisions of functions, reservations, general or particular, are devices that can have no permanent abiding place. They bear on their faces their transitional character; and they can be worked only if it is clearly recognised that that is their justification and their purpose. They cannot be so

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designed as to be logical. They must be charged with potentialities of friction. Hope of avoiding mischief lies in facing the fact that they are temporary expedients for training purposes, and in providing that the goal is not merely kept in sight but made attainable, not by agitation, but by the operation of machinery inherent in the scheme itself."

Criticise then freely. But remember that if your criticism is to be useful, it must be constructive and not merely destructive. You must give us something which we can set up in the place of that which you destroy.

Let me now sketch in broad strokes our scheme, as I see it. In the domain of the Government of India the fundamental principle is laid down that its authority must remain in essential matters indisputable. That is basic. But consider the advance which, subject to that principle, we propose. An assembly, in the main elected, infinitely more representative of India than the Council as now constituted. An assembly before which all business will normally be brought; able to express its opinion and exert its influence in respect of all matters pertaining to the government of India. And if the Government through the Council of State retains its present power to make its will effective, the use of that power is conditioned. It can only be exercised on the certificate of the Governor-General in Council that the matter in issue is in the interests of peace, order and good government.

Surely no one can say that this scheme does not involve a large increase in the influence of the representatives upon the actions of the Government of India.

I turn next to the domain of the Provinces. Here we come upon the division of functions of Government into the

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two categories of Transferred and Reserved Subjects. This division has been the object of much criticism, but I doubt whether the wit of man can devise any other device whereby the progressive transfer of responsibility can be secured.

Now what advance is secured in this domain? In the sphere of Transferred Subjects, the will of the Legislative Council is in the main to prevail. But even in the sphere of Reserved Subjects, the development is marked. Here, too, the will of the Legislative Council is normally in the main to prevail. And even in the exceptional cases where the machinery of the Grand Committee has to be set in motion on the Governor's certificate, the powers of the Legislative Council will remain unimpaired; for in the constitution of the Grand Committee will be reproduced the proportionate strength of officials and non-officials in the Councils as at present constituted. Thus, in the domain of Provincial Governments the immediate advance is immense, and the road forward lies open and defined.

I said that I would not follow up the various criticisms which have been made on our scheme, but Hon'ble Members will probably expect something from me on the vexed question of communal representation. I cannot help thinking that much more has been read into our proposals than they were intended to convey. We wished indeed to make it clear that, in our opinion, communal electorates were to be deprecated for the reasons set out in our report. But it was in the main to the method of securing communal representation by communal electorates that we took exception and not to communal representation itself. The careful reader of the report will see that we regard this as inevitable in India, and that



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we clearly contemplate the representation of those communities and classes and interests who prove their case before the Committee shortly to be appointed to examine the question. I am most anxious that the fullest representation should be secured to the various classes and communities in India; but I am frankly doubtful myself whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates. However, I am content to leave the unravelling of this important question in the hands of the Committee, who will have the fullest evidence placed before them and will be free to make such recommendations as they think right unfettered by our Report.

One last word on the subject of Reforms. Hon'ble Members are aware of the stress we lay in the Report on the necessity for educational advance. Last year we approached the Secretary of State with our proposals. But it was suggested to us that in view of the impending discussion on Reforms and especially on the future relation of Local, Provincial and Imperial finances it would be better to postpone their consideration. We have now approached the Secretary of State again; and with his consent our circular letter to Local Governments on this vital subject will be published this afternoon.

I began with the war and it is with the war that I end. For not only does the war dominate all our thoughts; on its successful issue depends the very liberty of the world, without which these our schemes for the liberalising of India's political institutions would be vain indeed.

The shadows seem to be slowly lifting. We can almost fancy we can see the first faint flicker of victorious peace ~~dawning~~ on the horizon. From March to July Germany put-

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forth her strength in a great effort to separate the French and British Armies, to capture Paris, to force her way to the Channel ports,—before the full flow of America's numbers should finally rob her of all hope of victory. She put forth her whole strength and failed. And with her failure came a dramatic change. The genius of Foch delivered a mighty counterstroke on the whole front from the Aisne to the Marne, and the Allied Armies hurled the Germans back. Before they could recover from the blow the Allies struck again and yet again. And ever since, the Germans have been receding, seeking in vain to husband their fast diminishing man-power. Nor can they look for help from Austria or Turkey or Bulgaria, for all three are sorely pressed.

The fifth year of the war has thus been ushered in full of high hopes for the Allies. But the end is not yet. And so far from success tempting us to relax our efforts, it calls on us to redouble them. The greater and more sustained our efforts now, the sooner will come the triumph of the unconquerable cause of righteousness and liberty, bringing to the stricken world the unspeakable blessing of peace.

LAST MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL;  
SIMLA SESSION, 1918.

The last meeting of the Autumn Session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on the 26th September 1918. His Excellency the Viceroy, who presided, closed the Session with the following remarks :—

We may all look back with satisfaction on the Session which has now come to a close. The debates throughout have been informed by that spirit of co-operation which

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was the key-note of the Scheme of Reforms proposed by the Secretary of State and myself. On the official side such co-operation rests on a recognition of Indian opinion; on the non-official side on a recognition that Government has only one end in view—the well-being and progress of India.

At the very outset of the Session the same note was struck, and stirred a sympathetic chord on all sides of the House. It was struck first by the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea in his eloquent appeal to his non-official colleagues to grasp the hand of fellowship extended to them by Government. And in swift response the Hon'ble Home Member pledged the whole-hearted co-operation of that fine Service to which he belongs, in the progressive fulfilment of India's destiny as a full partner in the Empire.

Quickened by this spirit of co-operation, the Council may face the future with confidence. Diversity of opinion there must always be; diversity indeed is the very law of life. But above diversity there is a higher law still, the law of unity. And it is the task of this Council to reconcile the many divergent interests of India into one whole, and to bring her ever nearer to the goal towards which we are all striving.

How great is our essential agreement underlying all diversities of interest was demonstrated in the debate on Reforms. That debate has cleared the air. It has removed many misconceptions. It has done much to prepare the ground for the Committees that will be engaged this cold weather in investigating the all-important questions of Franchise, and of decentralisation and the provincial division into Transferred and Reserved subjects.

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Some misconceptions no doubt still remain ; it could hardly be otherwise with a scheme of such complexity. Take, for instance, the disappointment voiced during the debate by some Hon'ble Moslem Members at the inadequate representation of their community which to them seemed foreshadowed in the scheme. May I remind them again of my words at the opening of the Session ? " I am most anxious that the fullest representation should be secured to the various classes and communities in India, but I am frankly doubtful myself whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates. However, I am content to leave the unravelling of this important question in the hands of the Committee, who will have the fullest evidence placed before them and will be free to make such recommendations as they think right." This assurance was general, addressed to all communities alike. But I would ask my Moslem friends in particular to lay it to heart. It is now for them to plead their cause before the Franchise Committee. That Committee, as also the Committee that is to deal with subjects, will include a member of their community. And they may therefore plead their cause before it in the fuller assurance that all weight will be given to their claims. The strength of those claims no one recognises more readily than I. Their position under the Morley-Minto Reform is secured ; any advance on that position is for them to make good before the Committee. Yet I have been told that there is a feeling among Moslems that Government is less mindful of their interests than in the past. I have even been told that the unfortunate incident in Calcutta, the grievous death-roll at which I deeply deplore, was in some measure symptomatic of this discontent. If there is indeed such a feeling abroad,

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I call on the leaders of the Moslem community, in the spirit of co-operation which has fructified our work at this Session, to help me to dispel it. For my own part I will only add this. I have watched the unswerving loyalty of Moslems throughout these trying times, proffering manhood and money in the cause of the Empire with admiration. And Moslems may rest assured that I shall see to it that there is no abatement of the promises they received from my predecessors in the matter of representation, and that the wider interests of the great Moslem community are always safeguarded.

Another feature by which this Session will be signalised in our history was the entrusting to the non-official vote the decision on India's further financial assistance towards the prosecution of the war. We embarked on this departure from precedent in full confidence. Our action was vindicated by the result. The readiness with which the non-official Members of this Council rose to their new-found responsibilities will stand out as a landmark on the road towards responsible Government. Their assumption of a larger share in the Empire's war-burden will strike a note of Imperial solidarity that will carry far beyond India itself. And that they read the temper of India aright, is proved—if proof were needed—by the large subscriptions that were simultaneously pouring in, to swell the War Loan before its close to nearly 50 crores. I offer my thanks to India at large and to the various War Loan Committees for their unflagging efforts. And to the patriotic spirit of Bengal, which headed the provinces with a contribution of nearly 20 crores, I pay a special tribute. The combination of these achievements, in this Council and in the country, forms a fitting close to Sir William Meyer's long and distinguished career in the service of India. He

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*State Banquet at Kashmir.*

has remained with us on the call of duty at personal sacrifice ; and all of us are glad to think that his sacrifice has met with so gratifying a reward. In the name of the Council I bid him good-bye and godspeed.

Our Session is over. We met three weeks ago buoyed with high hopes in the coming triumph of our cause. In three short weeks our hopes have gone from strength to strength. The first faint flicker of victorious peace, which then seemed dawning on the horizon, is now beginning to kindle the whole sky. From every front comes news of victory. And in the latest victory of all India can proudly claim a glorious share. For great forces have gone forth from India to Palestine, manned from British India and the Native States, and by Gurkhas from Nepal, whose Prime Minister has ungrudgingly placed at our service the gallant man-power of his country. The full story of that victory has yet to be told ; its far-reaching effect no one amongst us can foresee. But of this I am assured. When the record of that glorious campaign is unfolded, across the page of history will be writ large the name of India.

**STATE BANQUET AT KASHMIR.**

His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Chelmsford and staff, visited Kashmir in the autumn of 1918. 31st October 1918.

On the 31st October a State Banquet was held in the Banquet Hall, Srinagar, in honour of His Excellency the Viceroy's visit. There were about 100 guests invited to the banquet, including Lady Scott, Sir Aurel Stein, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Ramsay, and other distinguished officials and residents of the State.

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After the introduction of the guests, His Excellency invested His Highness with the Insignia of a Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

At the close of the banquet His Highness proposed the toast of the King-Emperor, which was received with the usual honour.

In proposing the health of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Chelmsford, His Highness expressed gratefulness to Their Excellencies for the honour they had done to the State by their visit to Kashmir. His Highness then pointed out how the times in which Their Excellencies visited Kashmir were singular and unique when the Empire was engaged in a bloody war against Germany, a country that had trampled underfoot the rights of weak nations and violated the laws of morality, humanity and policy. His Highness went on to say that though there had been moments of anxiety during the last four years, yet his faith in the victory of the Allies had never for a moment wavered and he assured His Excellency that he and his people would spare no sacrifice, however great, that they might be called upon to make, in the vindication of the principles of freedom and justice.

Referring to the report on Indian constitutional reforms in regard to the Native States, His Highness noted with satisfaction that His Excellency had dealt with this delicate and intricate problem with broadmindedness, sympathy and insight.

His Excellency in replying said :—

I desire, in the first place, to express to Your Highness on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself our warm thanks for the great kindness and hospitality which Your Highness has extended to us throughout our visit to your beautiful country, and for the very cordial references which you have made to us in proposing our health.

There are few who have not heard of the wonders of Kashmir, but only the initiated can know how favoured is the land over which Your Highness rules. For centuries past it

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has laid its spell upon travellers, whether Emperors or humbler folk, a spell which lures them back again and yet again to the fair Valley. It may be that Lady Chelmsford and I may some day be fortunate enough to re-visit the scenes where we have found rest and refreshment for a brief space in the midst of our labours. In any case, the days that we have spent here will always remain with us as a treasured and delightful memory.

When my predecessor, Lord Hardinge, visited Kashmir six years ago, he referred to the traditional loyalty of Your Highness' House and to the many practical proofs which Your Highness had given of co-operation in all matters of Imperial concern. He mentioned the past campaigns in which Your Highness' troops had taken part, and said (I quote his words) "I am sure that if trouble should come, as we all hope it never may, the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops would, as ever, render a good account of themselves". The trouble came, and it has proved to be trouble of an infinitely graver kind than any statesman could have foreseen. Your Highness has referred with legitimate pride, though with becoming modesty, to the manner in which the State has answered the King-Emperor's call to arms. I have been looking through the record of what the Kashmir Durbar has done, and I should like to dwell for a few minutes on some of its special features. First and foremost, there are the exploits of Your Highness' troops, which have fulfilled and surpassed the expectations voiced by Lord Hardinge. Early in the war, the 2nd Kashmir Rifles, half a battalion of the 3rd Rifles, and one battery proceeded on active service to Africa, where they earned high praise from General Smuts and other Military Commanders in the field. They have hitherto gained 47 decorations



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and 36 mentions in despatches. Many of Your Highness' gallant officers and men have given their lives for the Empire, and future generations will proudly remember the part borne by their ancestors in this world war and the great fight for justice and freedom. The record of the exploits of the Kashmir troops must be a source of pride to Your Highness and to your Commander-in-Chief, Raja Sir Hari Singh, and also to Brigadier-General Rose and all the Inspecting Officers, who have laboured so hard and successfully in bringing these fine troops to such a high state of efficiency. After the 2nd and 3rd Rifles returned from East Africa, they were refitted and an additional battalion was raised and added to the 2nd Rifles. The 1st and 3rd Regiments are now again on active service, the first battalion, 2nd Rifles, is furnishing reinforcements and its second battalion, together with the 2nd Imperial Service Battery, is garrisoning the Gilgit frontier posts, while the battery is now in India ready to proceed again on active service at full strength. Your Highness' troops have been greatly increased in numbers since the beginning of the war. There are now more than 6,000 combatants as against a peace establishment of 3,500, while nearly 4,000 combatants have been enlisted during the period of the war. But apart from the Imperial Service Troops, the State's contribution of men to the Indian Army has been large and very valuable. During the war, well over 17,000 combatants have been supplied, and I must specially mention one district in particular in Poonch, where no less than 13 per cent. of the male population of military age have been enrolled. In the Jammu Province also, the stout-hearted Dogras have responded nobly to the call for men. This good recruitment is chiefly due to the measures adopted by the Durbar, such as the appointment of

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a Recruiting Board and of a special Recruiting Officer of high status, with district recruiting officers as assistants, who have constantly toured in the districts and have assisted the revenue and other officers to awaken military ardour among the people.

Next, I would mention the State's many contributions in money. In the first place, His Highness the Maharaja has insisted on bearing the very large additional expenditure involved in connection with the increased strength of the Imperial Service units, their raising, equipment and maintenance. How generous and substantial this contribution has been can be judged by the fact that the outlay on the Imperial Service Troops alone, since August 1914, has amounted to nearly 60 lakhs. Besides these heavy charges, very liberal donations have been made to various military objects and charities, for instance, the contribution of five lakhs announced by His Highness at the Delhi War Conference; a contribution to the Imperial Relief Fund of Rs. 5,10,000, including one lakh from Maharaj Kumar Sir Hari Singh; contributions of one lakh each to the Prince of Wales' Fund and to a Hospital and Motor Ambulance Service for France, besides four motor ambulances and many large tents. His Highness has in addition contributed largely to the hospitalship *Loyalty*, while Sir Hari Singh has given 1½ lakhs to the Punjab Aeroplane Fleet Fund and a motor car. Numerous War Relief and Imperial Funds have benefited by subscriptions from the Durbar and, lastly, over 35 lakhs were subscribed by the State and public of Kashmir to the 1917 War Loan. The State Forest Department has helped us with valuable materials and is supplying walnut wood from

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the Baramulla Factory for the manufacture of rifle butts for the army, and spruce wood for aeroplane stays. Your Highness after being present at the War Conference at Delhi, gave effect to the resolutions and recommendations which were then made for furthering the prosecution of the war, by the appointment of a Controller of Munitions to co-operate with the Munitions Department of the Government of India, and by the formation of Publicity Boards in Kashmir and in Poonch with the object of disseminating accurate information regarding the war and its objects.

Maharaja Sahib, you have helped us right well and loyally. The whole-hearted co-operation of your State with the Government of India and the generous response to the Empire's needs are due to the impulse of Your Highness' own loyalty and enthusiasm for our common cause.

It has been a matter of the greatest pleasure to me that I was privileged to invest Your Highness with the Insignia of a Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the British Empire, which His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to confer upon Your Highness in recognition of your loyalty and devoted assistance.

I am glad to know that the financial position of Your Highness' State is so essentially sound. Its revenues have nearly doubled during the last 20 years, and it possesses a substantial reserve of 61 lakhs. I know that, owing to the difficulty of obtaining freightage to Europe at present, the silk revenue, which you anticipated this year, can hardly be secured, and that in consequence it has been deemed advisable to curtail expenditure and to postpone for the present various useful projects, but the further development of the forests, the

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profitable exploitation of the mineral wealth, which there is reason to hope the State possesses, the prosecution of the drainage and irrigation schemes, and the extension of the fruit industry, which may be expected when cheap mechanical transport worked by electric energy is established from the valley to the Punjab, are bound to augment the revenue and to add greatly to the future prosperity of the State.

In common with other parts of India, there has been economic distress in Kashmir owing to the shortage and high prices of rice, the common staple food of the people. Your rice harvest, upon which so much depends, requires, I know, very special conditions to ensure a full measure of success. Heavy snows on the mountains in winter to fill the streams in summer; good rains in March, and warm days and cool nights in the following months; the absence of rain while harvest is ripening. Fortunately the fertility of the land in good years enables storage of reserves against times of scarcity, and the construction of communications with the outer world and the change in the method of collecting revenue has protected the country against such disasters as occurred in the famines of 1832 and 1878. The development of communications has, however, raised fresh problems in connection with supply and prices of food-grains and I am glad to know that the Durbar have taken the whole question into their serious consideration. The rise in prices during the past few months and the shortage of rice occasioned, I fear, very real distress among Your Highness' poorer subjects, and I take this opportunity of expressing my earnest sympathy with them in the sufferings which they have undergone. I need not say with what relief I learnt, before

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leaving Simla, that the new harvest had been a bumper one and that prices were falling in consequence. I am satisfied that the machinery which has now been set up furnishes a remedy for these particular difficulties, if only it is used and maintained and I have asked Colonel Bannerman to let me hear from time to time how it is working. Ably assisted by your Chief Minister, Raja Daljit Singh, on whose sagacity I am sure you may confidently rely, I hope that Your Highness will continue to conduct the administration of your State on sound lines and to use your utmost endeavours to secure the well-being and contentment of your subjects.

Your Highness has referred in your speech to the problems concerning Native States which are discussed in Chapter X of the Joint Report framed by the Secretary of State and myself. I am glad to know that the recommendations which we made have Your Highness' general approval, and it is a satisfaction to me to feel that we shall have the benefit of Your Highness' ripe experience when we come to discuss those problems in detail during the approaching Conference.

Before I conclude I desire to give some expression to the regret which we all feel at the untimely death of Your Highness' relative and feudatory Major Sir Baldeo Singh, the Raja of Poonch. I had not the pleasure of knowing the late Raja and had looked forward to making his acquaintance during this visit. In him the Government has lost a loyal and staunch friend, who by his zeal in the cause of recruiting and in every other matter affecting the energetic prosecution of the war has materially helped the Empire and enhanced the already high repute for loyalty of Poonch and of his suzerain, the Maharaja of Kashmir.

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*Victory Celebration at Simla.*

In tendering my sincere sympathy to Your Highness, I have to express the confident hope that the Raja's young heir, a boy full of promise, will worthily follow his father in loyalty to Your Highness, and to the British Government.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will now ask you to join me in drinking the very good health of our generous and hospitable host, Lieutenant-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh.

#### VICTORY CELEBRATION AT SIMLA.

The Final Victory of the Allies was celebrated at a large gathering held on the Ridge at Simla on the 12th November when the Viceroy delivered the following speech :—

We are gathered together this morning to celebrate the supreme event of which we have just heard. I wish I was at liberty to inform you of the terms of the armistice which has been signed, but I make bold to say that under the conditions of that armistice peace is assured. Four years ago we drew the sword to vindicate the cause of freedom and preserve the liberties of the world, and our leaders gave the pledge that the sword should not be sheathed until freedom had been vindicated and liberty secured. For four years the fortunes of battle have ebbed and flowed, but the Empire has remained constant to their pledge, and to-day we can sheathe the sword knowing that we have kept the faith.

But what of India ? She has played a great and noble part in the struggle. She was early in the field helping to stem the rush of the Teutonic hordes, and she has been in at the end, and her troops largely contributed to the staggering

*Victory Celebration at Simla.*

blow in Palestine which first caused our foe to totter to his fall.

And now, lest we forget, we owe victory to those who have fallen and have made the supreme sacrifice. We must see to it that those who are dependent on them do not want. We owe victory to those who have been crippled and maimed and blinded in the war. We must see to it that they do not want. India's heart goes out to the suffering, and I know she will not fail me when later I appeal to her for them.

And, too, we must think of our Sovereign. Last night on receipt of the news I despatched the following telegram to His Majesty :—

“ At this great hour when the dangers which threatened the Empire are passing away, on behalf of India I tender to Your Majesty India's deep and heartfelt devotion to the Throne. Through adversity and in triumph India has played her part inspired by a sense of deep personal loyalty to Your Majesty and sustained by the example of sympathy, patience and never-failing fortitude which Your Majesty has set to the whole Empire in its time of trial.”

Words are but an imperfect medium, but I hope our Sovereign will know from these poor words the devotion and loyalty which goes out to him from India at this supreme moment. And he too has not been unmindful of us. This morning I have received this gracious message from the King-Emperor :—

“ On signature of the armistice with Germany marking conclusive victory of Allied arms over the last of our enemies, I desire to congratulate Your Excellency, the Princes and Peoples of India on the success which has attended our united

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*Investiture Durbar at Bharatpur.*

efforts. The struggle now so happily ended has demanded unprecedented sacrifices from us all, and in responding to the call upon her for men and resources India has played a part worthy of her martial qualities and high traditions. She has fulfilled my faith in her single minded devotion to my Person and Empire, and she has vindicated my confidence in her loyalty.

“The bond of brotherhood proved by partnership in trials and triumphs will endure in years to come when the reign of justice is restored, homes are united and the blessings of peace are renewed.”

#### INVESTITURE DURBAR AT BHARATPUR.

His Excellency the Viceroy paid a brief visit to Bharatpur on the 28th November. At an Investiture Durbar held the same day, the 28th November. ber 1918. Viceroy spoke as follows :—

One of my most valued privileges as Viceroy is my close association with the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of this great country. It is natural therefore that I should take the first opportunity that has occurred during my tenure of office of investing a young Maharaja with the power of administration of his State. And I do so the more gladly in the present case because I already enjoy Your Highness' personal friendship and am deeply interested in your career.

The Government of India are the trustees and guardians of Indian States during minorities, and in Bharatpur the period of our administration on behalf of Your Highness has been a long one. You succeeded to the *Gadi* on the 27th August 1900, but for five years previously the management



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*Investiture Durbar at Bharatpur.*

of the State had been conducted under the supervision of our officers. The time has now come to give an account of our stewardship of some 23 years and I rejoice to think it is one of which we may well feel proud.

A new settlement of your land revenue was begun by Mr. (now Sir Elliot) Colvin in 1896 and was completed by Mr. (now Sir M.) O'Dwyer in 1902. The revenue system of the State was reorganised, cesses were defined and all oppressive imposts were abolished. Irrecoverable arrears were remitted and the new annual demand of some Rs. 21½ lakhs has since been realised punctually and without hardship from the cultivators whose general condition has steadily improved. Tanks and canals have been developed—114 new works in all being constructed and some 200 additional square miles of territory being brought under irrigation. Besides the large water revenue accruing to the State, the indirect benefits from irrigation are incalculable and are reflected in the general prosperity of the people.

Co-operative Credit Societies, the only real remedy against agricultural indebtedness, have made a successful beginning. They now number 60 with a working capital of Rs. 1¼ lakhs. I am sure that Your Highness will foster and encourage a movement so full of benefit to your people.

Communications have not been neglected and over 100 miles of new 1st class metalled roads have been constructed throughout the State.

Public health has received due attention. All the large towns have well equipped dispensaries. In the Victoria Hospital built at a cost of Rs. 4½ lakhs, Bharatpur has one of the finest medical institutions in Rajputana and sanitary

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*Investiture Durbar at Bharatpur.*

measures taken within the last few years have improved the once deplorable vital statistics of Bharatpur to a degree which compares favourably with the most healthy city in the United Provinces.

The Police have been reorganised and for the last 10 years have been a model of what a State Police should be.

The work of the Courts, both Civil and Criminal, has been revised and redistributed leading to a more speedy despatch of judicial business.

The Imperial Service Troops raised by His Highness Maharaja Jaswant Singh in 1890 have not been allowed to deteriorate in number or quality. In 1899 it was decided with the concurrence of Government to substitute a Transport Corps for the Imperial Service Cavalry Regiment. The Transport saw service on the Tibet Expedition in 1904 and the high reputation won there has received new lustre from its splendid work in the present war. The Imperial Service Infantry went straight to East Africa in 1914 and much credit for its distinguished record in that campaign must be given to the State administration that spent money liberally to secure its efficiency and to prepare it for active service in the preceding years.

Education too has prospered. The number of children receiving instruction has more than doubled since 1900. Instead of one English school there are now three, including one for the sons of Sardars and Thakurs. Secondary schools have risen from 12 to 17 and village schools from 77 to 108. Special efforts have been made to obtain trained teachers so that the quality of the teaching should keep pace with the quantity.

*Investiture Durbar at Bharatpur.*

The State finances have been carefully husbanded. Despite heavy extraordinary expenditure on marriages, trips to Europe, Your Highness' new Palace and other unavoidable items and the necessarily higher cost of improved administration in many State Departments, the net invested balances of the State after deducting outstanding liabilities have risen from Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 26 lakhs. Your Highness will doubtless agree that this record is eminently satisfactory. It seems to me fully to justify the system of administration which was adopted for the minority, namely, control by a State Council of Indian Sardars and officials under the general supervision of the Political Agent.

Our minority administrations are sometimes criticised for aiming too much at the standards of British India and for our anxiety towards reform and improvement by which, it is alleged, the old spirit of the State administration tends to become lost, and the ties between the Prince and his subjects are liable to be loosened. I am happy to believe that Your Highness will not find that anything of this kind has happened in Bharatpur. It is true that the reorganisation of your more important departments has made your administrative machine more suited to modern methods of government. But in the others the old world forms remain and change has been limited to a reduced expenditure and a closer control. If more is required, it will be for Your Highness to carry it out. Much remains as it did under the rule of your revered and distinguished grandfather, His Highness Maharaja Jaswant Singh, and where he had approved, there has been no attempt to change or to decide cases otherwise than by his precedents. As a result, the general character of the administration remains unaltered in Bharatpur, and I am glad to be assured that the

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ties of affection and respect that bind Your Highness and your people together are as strong as ever they were.

Your Highness, it is no light burden that you are now to take up. Your powers in matters of internal administration are very wide and involve a heavy responsibility to God and to your people, for the discharge of which a high sense of duty and untiring industry is required. Your Highness will always, I trust, have the assistance of capable officials, but the power of guidance and control will lie in your hands and the success or failure of your rule will depend upon how you use it.

I have every confidence that Your Highness will rise to the level of your high office. You have had an admirable training. First and foremost, you have enjoyed the watchful and loving care of a mother whose sole desire has been to make you a true friend of the British Government and worthy of the best traditions of your State. You have been taught at the Mayo College under the stimulating guidance and influence of Lieutenant-Colonel Waddington. You have been to England and learned something of the Public School spirit at Wellington College. You have had precept and example from private tutors of ability and character, and finally you have for 18 months been in charge of many of the State Departments and have learned something of how to sift the true from the false, of when to support your officials and when to take your own line, and above all, of the importance of prompt despatch of business if the wheels of administration are to run smoothly. The stirring times in which we live and particularly the events of the past few months have emphasised the danger that attends the exercise of autocratic rule without proper regard to the interests of the people. In the vast

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majority of the countries of the world the realisation of this danger has led to the substitution of government by the people for the uncontrolled authority of an individual sovereign. The rulers of the Indian States in virtue of their protection by the British Government, enjoy an unusual degree of personal control over the welfare of their subjects, and the responsibility that lies upon them is correspondingly great. I feel confident, Your Highness, that you will always bear in mind this high responsibility, and I need not assure you that I myself and the officers serving under me will always be ready to help you to discharge it in the best interests of yourself, your people and of the British Empire.

In reply His Highness the Maharaja of Bharatpur said :—

It is difficult to find words in which adequately to express my appreciation of Your Excellency's kindness in honouring me with your presence on this occasion, the importance of which to myself and to my people I keenly realise. It is typical of the sympathetic consideration always shown by Your Excellency to the Indian Princes and Chiefs and of your well-known desire in all reasonable ways to forward their interests and maintain their dignities. Now as *de facto* ruler of my State I would as my first act ask Your Excellency to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor an assurance of my deep devotion and unswerving loyalty. That is the tradition of my house which I am resolved firmly to maintain. I take this opportunity of tendering personally through Your Excellency my sincere congratulations to His Majesty the King-Emperor on the successful termination of the war. It has been a source of much satisfaction to me that my Imperial Service Troops and Transport Corps have been found worthy to serve alongside the troops of His Majesty in the war against the enemies of civilised mankind. That they have played their part well and earned the praise of the Generals under whom they have served, is due to the efficiency maintained in time of peace, for which I tender my most grateful thanks to the Member of Council in charge of the Military Department, to

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the inspecting officers and last but not least to my troops themselves. In the belief that we could thereby render more effective assistance to Government my Imperial Service Infantry Regiment was recently, with my whole-hearted concurrence, placed under the entire control of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for the period of the war.

I thank Your Excellency with deep sincerity for your kind words of advice and encouragement. They will help and strengthen me in undertaking the task that lies before me. I am well aware that it will be heavy, and that I shall have my doubts and difficulties, but with God's help I hope to profit by experience, and pray that I may be enabled to discharge the duties of my position to the satisfaction of Your Excellency and the Supreme Government, and to the happiness and contentment of my people.

#### STATE BANQUET AT BHARATPUR.

A State Banquet in honour of His Excellency the Viceroy's visit to Bharatpur was held on the 28th November 1918. 28th November 1918.

The following speech was delivered by His Highness in proposing the health of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford :—

It is my most pleasant duty to express to Your Excellency a hearty welcome from myself, my family, and the people of my State. We are extremely indebted to Your Excellency for this honour which has been conferred on us in spite of your preoccupations with matters relating to the termination of the war and other questions of great moment. Bharatpur is not unknown to Your Excellency, but the present visit will be a memorable and historic event in the annals of the State. Your Excellency has been the first Viceroy to consider the honour of a formal visit to my capital. It has always given me the keenest pleasure to welcome you on former occasions, but this pleasure is intensified by the fact that as I am entering the great work of my life, you are taking this personal interest in me, and showing it in so tangible a form. I hope that as in past years, so in the future, I will have the honour of entertaining Your Excellency.

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It is a matter of great regret to me that owing to the failure of the rains this year there is distress in Bharatpur, so that Your Excellency's reception has not been on such a scale as I had intended originally, and such as I deemed worthy of the occasion. But I am confident Your Excellency will understand the circumstances, and believe that the depth of my regard for Your Excellency is not to be measured by any outward display. There are apprehensions of a severe famine, the kharif crop having already entirely failed. The failure of the monsoon has brought in its train a total failure of fodder also, which will entail considerable suffering to the livestock of the State. Lastly, it has been our misfortune to have inflicted upon us recently an epidemic of influenza in a very acute form, which has been the cause of much suffering and mortality amongst my people.

The thought that is uppermost in our minds at this moment is one of gratitude to God for the successful termination of the world war—a war which has caused so much misery and distress. My firm faith in the Allies' victory has been justified; the dark night of this titanic struggle has passed and the dawn of a new and better day is breaking upon the world. This war has helped to reveal to the Empire the depth of devotion of the Princes and people of India to the Person and Throne of their Sovereign.

I may be permitted to say that my State, which is ever loyal and devoted to the British Empire, has put forward its best exertions and rendered military, financial and material assistance in the prosecution of the war. The Bharatpur Imperial Service Troops have and are still serving at the front. They have been employed in France, Egypt, the Dardanelles, Salonika, Africa, Mesopotamia and Palestine. I am proud to say that in each theatre of war they have earned the commendations of the Generals commanding them and they have worthily upheld the good name of Bharatpur. In the matter of supplying recruits for the Indian Army every assistance has been rendered. Among Rajputana States the Bharatpur State, I believe, is second to none in the numbers supplied, taking into consideration its area and population. The number of recruits supplied has been 7,263. In addition the State has not been unmindful of the suffering the war has

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entailed, and has contributed largely to the various funds raised to help and relieve the sick and wounded, and those whom the war has bereaved. The subscription to the first and second War Loans from the State and its people amounted to over 25 lakhs.

I offer my devout thanks to the Almighty for the recent succession of notable victories of the British Empire and its Allies and the resultant crushing defeat of the enemy. Final victory and triumph has now been accomplished. In this tremendous struggle that has taken place every one must be grateful for Your Excellency's inflexible determination in the cause of India and the Empire.

On this occasion I feel it my duty to pay a tribute to Your Excellency's true interest in the welfare and progress of the Indian States, manifested in various ways, one of which is the making of the Chiefs' Conference a permanent assembly where we shall have an opportunity for mutual exchange of ideas, which is bound to prove beneficial.

We are equally indebted to Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford for the continued and strenuous efforts which Her Excellency has been making both to relieve war distress and for uplifting the women of India. We all must be sincerely grateful to her for her solicitude for Indian women, her thoughtfulness for the children, the sick and the suffering, and her vivid interest in all that is good for India.

I have every cause to rejoice at all that has been done for the benefit of my State during my minority by the Government. I cannot adequately thank the Hon'ble Sir Elliot Colvin and the Hon'ble Colonel Manners-Smith, our present Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, for the constant care and attention bestowed by them for the advancement of the State. I shall be wanting in my duty if I failed to acknowledge, with my heartfelt thanks, the courtesy, kindness and consideration which Colonel Bannerman, late Political Agent, showed to me at all times and for the sincere advice and true guidance with which he initiated me in the work of the administration. I am also grateful to our present Political Agent, Mr. Watson, for the continuous assistance I have always received from him. My sincere thanks are also due to the former Political Agents for the watchful care with which they



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supervised the administration of the State during my minority. I am very glad to say that the relations of my State with the Imperial Government and its representatives have always been most happy and cordial.

I also owe my gratitude to Colonel Waddington, late Principal, Mayo College, and to my tutors, Colonel Sweet and Mr. Gibson, whose ability, sympathy and unselfish devotion to duty in my education and upbringing will ever be fresh in my memory and greatly help me in my future life.

My sincere acknowledgments are also due to the State Council who, during my minority, spared no pain to bring the working of the departments placed under them to a high pitch of efficiency by introducing a modern system of administration with due regard to the finances of the State. Peace, progress and prosperity have been the characteristic features of the administration. The land settlement which was conducted by Mr. (now Sir) Michael O'Dwyer in 1900—02 on improved and liberal lines has substantially added to the revenue of the State. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's excellent report will ever be a guiding record for future settlements. Important legislative work has been done and the judicial courts have been reorganised and improved. Education has made material progress, there being a marked increase in the number of educational institutions. Progress has also been made in female education which is becoming popular. Considerable work has been done in the matter of improvements, and public works and buildings. Important irrigation works have also been carried out which have led to a permanent increase in revenue, for which we owe thanks to Mr. Cruickshank, our State Engineer.

The efficiency of the Military Department in general, and the Imperial Service Troops in particular, has been raised.

On an occasion like this I feel impelled to acknowledge publicly the deep sense of gratitude I owe to my mother, Her Highness Sri Maji Sahiba, C. I., for her watchful love, constant and devoted care and wise counsel. It would not be too much to say that my life has been modelled by her, and that she has inculcated in me that truest spirit of

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patriotism and loyalty to the King-Emperor which has been the chief feature of the Bharatpur House. I need not recount here all her activities in connection with the war, and what she has done for the good of the State and the womenfolk of Bharatpur. They are well known.

I cannot let this opportunity pass without expressing my appreciation of the work of my most valued friend and guardian Rao Bahadur Dhau Bakhshi Raghubir Singh, who has throughout my life been faithful to me and my House. The Rao Bahadur Sahib was on the Panchayat in 1893 during the rule of my illustrious grandfather, and since 1898, when the Council was formed, he has been on it, and has shown himself to be not only capable and trustworthy but also loyal to the Bharatpur State and the Supreme Government. I need not say any more on this point, for the Dhauji Sahib's services are well known to Your Excellency and the officers of the Imperial Government.

Although I fully realise the magnitude of the responsibilities which will in the future rest on my shoulders and the difficulties which will be met with in the administration of my State with about six lakhs of souls entrusted to my care, yet I believe that Your Excellency will always extend towards me the benefit of your most valuable and friendly advice and assistance and by the grace of God and with the help and kind advice of my mother, to whom I owe everything, I hope I shall be able to do all in my power for the progress of my State and the welfare of my people. I had the good fortune to go to England and other parts of Europe where I assimilated something of the teaching of the West, and I have learnt there that the greater the power and the higher the position, the greater are the responsibilities.

In conclusion I again assure Your Excellency that I thoroughly appreciate the great honour that Your Excellency has done me in undertaking a long and tiring journey for the performance of my investiture.

His Excellency in reply said :—

*Maharaja Sahib*,—In the first place let me congratulate Your Highness and also Her Highness the Maji Sahiba and the people of Bharatpur very heartily on your restoration to

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health after the severe illness through which you have passed. It was a great relief to me when the daily bulletins which I received showed that the dangerous symptoms had abated and that Your Highness was making normal progress towards recovery.

As Your Highness has recalled, I have twice already been your guest, so that your remarkable and historic capital and the excellent shooting, which the *jheels* in its vicinity provide, are well known to me. It is a particular satisfaction to me, however, that I am the first Viceroy to pay a formal visit to Bharatpur, and that I have been privileged to-day to invest Your Highness with powers of administration on attaining majority.

I am indeed sorry to learn from Your Highness that the failure of the rain has been so serious and that the shadow of famine already lies upon the land. I applaud Your Highness' decision to curtail in every possible way the expenditure which so important an occasion would otherwise have demanded and to reserve your energies and resources for the trials which will have to be faced in the coming year. The task confronting Your Highness during the long rainless months ahead will be a heavy one, and I deplore that it should fall upon you at the outset of your rule. Government Departments and officials will do all in their power to render help to Your Highness' administration and you will have the full benefit of the organisations and schemes which we are forming to deal with the scarcity and distress which are unfortunately to be anticipated in many areas. It will fall to Your Highness, however, to cheer and hearten the workers in your own State, to comfort the suffering and to devise plans for the wise and

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cautious administration of relief. Your Highness will, I know, do your best to alleviate distress, both of man and beast, and will look forward to the time when, as the reward of your endeavours, you will see the cultivator once more behind the plough, full of good courage and determination able to win his living once more from the soil.

Most Rulers and administrative officers in India learn, sooner or later, the many painful lessons which famine has to teach, but they emerge from the struggle gainers in wisdom and sympathy and knowledge of the people. I have every confidence that Your Highness will courageously endure this test of nerve and capacity, and that you will gain a fitting reward in the undying affection of those whom you have protected and strengthened.

The State finances are, I know, somewhat hampered by the obligations which the Durbar have so readily and generously undertaken in connection with the war; but the struggle has, thank God, victoriously ended, and I am certain that the outlay has been made with Your Highness' approval and in many cases at Your Highness' own suggestion. It must be a great satisfaction to Your Highness to know that the money has been spent to the very best advantage. The reputation won in the field by the Bharatpur Imperial Service Infantry and the Imperial Service Transport Corps is second to none. They have shown that the spirit of valour and constancy for which the Bharatpur troops were famous 100 years ago still burns as brightly as ever. I congratulate Your Highness upon their reputation and exploits which have been recognised both in many despatches from the Front and by the special thanks of the Army Council in England. I am especially pleased to

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hear of the high place taken by Bharatpur in the recruiting figures for Rajputana. Here also you have given Government valuable assistance at a time when men were very urgently wanted.

I look forward to welcoming Your Highness at the forthcoming Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at Delhi, and I am sure that you will find the discussions both interesting and instructive.

I was pleased to hear Your Highness' remarks on your friendly relations with past and present Political Officers. I trust that these happy relations will always continue, and that Your Highness will realise that I and my officers are friends who are ready to help you whenever and wherever you require our assistance. I am especially gratified to know that Your Highness appreciates the efforts of those officers who, whether upon the State Council or in subordinate posts, have laboured so loyally and unselfishly for the success of the administration and for your own upbringing.

I thank Your Highness for your kind reference to my wife. In all her efforts for relief of suffering in the war and for the good of Indian womanhood she has known that she can count on the enthusiastic support of the wives, mothers and daughters of the Princes of India. Eminent among these noble ladies is the Maji Sahiba of Bharatpur whose virtues and labours have been recognised by His Majesty by the high distinction of the Crown of India. This must indeed be a proud and happy day for Her Highness when after 19 years of loving care and anxiety she sees her son assume his high responsibilities under the fairest auspices. It will be her

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prayer as it is mine that the bright promise of to-day may be amply fulfilled.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking long life, health and prosperity to Lieutenant His Highness Kishen Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Bharatpur.

CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Lady Chelmsford and staff, arrived in Calcutta on the morning of the 10th December 1918. On the afternoon of the 16th His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, Chancellor, presided at the second day's Convocation of the Calcutta University which was held at the Senate House. A guard-of-honour, a hundred strong, of the Calcutta University Corps was drawn up. His Excellency, after inspecting the guard-of-honour, entered the hall in procession. 16th December 1918.

The Chancellor having declared the Convocation open, the Vice-Chancellor presented diplomas to the successful candidate who had taken the higher degrees.

His Excellency the Viceroy then addressed the Convocation as follows :—

*Gentlemen*,—I am delighted once more to meet you as your Chancellor. I was unfortunately prevented by pressure of work from presiding over your Convocation during my visit last year. That could not be helped, but it had the great advantage of enabling His Excellency the Governor to introduce himself to you as your Rector.

And now let me recall to your minds what I said to you on a former occasion. Two years ago when I presided over this Convocation for the first time, I announced to you my

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intention to appoint a Commission to investigate the problems relating to your University. I said then that the composition of the Commission should be of the strongest possible character on the educational side and that educational problems should be considered with a single eye to educational efficiency.

The Commission was appointed and no one can say that its *personnel* does not possess the strongest educational qualifications. For a whole year under the distinguished Chairmanship of Dr. Michael Sadler it has been investigating your problems and preparing its report. We are all looking forward with intense interest to the publication of that report, and I feel confident that it will be worthy of the distinguished gentlemen who have given their labour and minds to this great task.

For myself I should like to say that if the members of the Commission are unanimous in their main recommendations, I shall lose no time in giving effect to them. It would be futile to appoint a Commission of such strength and eminence and then pigeon-hole their suggestions. I hope that the course I propose will meet with general approval and that I shall have the support of His Excellency your Rector and of his Government. I am perfectly conscious that there must be some criticism of and opposition to what may be proposed in the nature of reforms, but that is only to be expected. In a matter of such complexity it is scarcely likely that general unanimity on the part of the public can be secured. But I would ask those who feel themselves constrained to take up an attitude of dissent to weigh carefully the questions in issue as a whole before they make up their minds. Let me state them briefly and broadly

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In the first place, you have in this University a student population which is the largest of any University in the world and without a parallel. You have some 23,000 students preparing for University degrees, and those students are not concentrated in Calcutta, but dispersed over a wide area.

This vast multitude is under the control of a single organization. It pursues the same studies, assimilates the same text-books, and goes up for the same examinations. Moreover, as if this were not a sufficient task for one governing body, the same body is responsible for the care of more than 600 schools.

Again, of these 23,000 students some 19,000 follow purely literary courses which lead only to clerical and legal careers. I will repeat to-day what I said to you two years ago : " So long as students think that the only avenues of employment are in the legal and clerical professions, so long shall we get congestion and overcrowding in those professions with consequent discouragement, disappointment and discontent."

Once more, when I had the opportunity of visiting you, I was much struck by the fact that a large number of students seemed to be doing work which should have been done at school and not in a University. If this be so it must necessarily follow that the colossal numbers of your University are in some measure due to the influx of students who should still be undergoing their school course ; and the consequent strain on the administrative and teaching organization can well be imagined.



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Once more, your University has, in large measure, followed the lines of development of London University. It began by being an affiliating University and as such confined itself to the conduct of examinations. Like London University it realized that this was not the primary function of a University, and it began to graft upon itself the function of teaching.

Again, like London University, it found—I think I am not putting this too strongly—that such a material change could not be effected from within, and that external help was necessary if true reform was to be effected on sound lines.

These facts, and I have confined myself to what will leap to the eye of any observer, should give us all cause to think, and they bring out, that which I hope the general public will realize, the colossal character and complexity of the problem which Dr. Sadler and his colleagues have been asked to solve; and surely no one can doubt that the time is ripe for a solution of this great question. Education lies at the root of most of our difficulties, and, if we are to advance surely along the path of Constitutional Reform, we must see to it that we put our educational system on the soundest basis.

The time then is ripe for reform in this matter. But coincident with Dr. Sadler's Commission, another Commission has been sitting investigating the openings for the profitable employment of Indian capital in commerce and industry. But we do not want merely Indian capital, we want Indian men, and not Indian men only as labour but as leaders who will turn their attention to industrial enterprise

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and equip themselves for a great industrial regeneration in India. We want to see men devote themselves to Scientific Research. We want to divert some of the great stream of students, which now pours into channels leading only to the clerical and legal professions, in two channels which will lead to industrial and commercial enterprise. We have now before us the Report of the Industrial Commission which tells us how this may be done. I can assure you that in the case of this Report too I have no intention of letting its volumes moulder upon our shelves. Action has already been taken upon it, and before a year elapses I hope to see the foundations laid of a scheme for progressive industrial development in India. But let me once more emphasize the point that it is men that we want to do this thing. If the men are forthcoming, there will be no difficulty about money. Capital will go where it sees possibilities of advantageous use. I have every confidence that we shall see this Industrial Renaissance come about and where could it more fitly be inaugurated than in this the premier University in India? I commend this to you all.

These two Commissions will have furnished us with information of what can be done and how best it can be done. It only remains for us to obtain your co-operation. The *personnel* exists among you, if only it will equip itself for this great task.

And now I come to some more personal aspects of your University life. I cannot omit a tribute to the work of Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikari, your late Vice-Chancellor, whose faithful discharge of his stewardship during a prolonged tenure of office cannot have been accomplished save at the cost of much time which would otherwise have been devoted

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to the calls of his profession. It is a matter for congratulation that his labours in the cause of education have been recognized both by the King-Emperor and by British Universities. His period of office coincided with the new problems and unusual difficulties associated with the War, and he proved himself alive to the spirit of the times by the enthusiasm he displayed in supporting the creation of University Corps embodied in the Indian Defence Force. I trust that the impulse which led to the introduction of this new and valuable feature in your University life will not die away and that you will all continue to take a pride in the discipline and efficiency of your University Corps.

Your present Vice-Chancellor, Sir Lancelot Sanderson, has undertaken the duties of this office, with the greatest self-sacrifice, in addition to the heavy work and responsibility involved in his official appointment, and I regret to say to the detriment of his health. He deserves the gratitude of all who are interested in this University. And here I would make a general observation. During the sixty years of its existence your University has enjoyed the gratuitous services of a succession of illustrious and busy men, who have not hesitated, when called upon, to shoulder a difficult and often thankless task and to furnish to its *alumni* a bright example of untiring public spirit. The work yearly increases in volume and complexity and the question arises whether the time has not arrived when the University should claim the services of a Vice-Chancellor who can devote his undivided attention to its welfare.

Among the great men eminent in your records is one who has passed away during the last few days and whose

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loss casts a gloom over our proceedings. The memory of Sir Guru Das Banarji, the first Indian to be selected as your Vice-Chancellor, will long be cherished among you. His image will rise to your minds as that of one who, even in extreme old age, retained a buoyancy of demeanour, an alertness of intellect, which one looks to find among men entering on the prime of life. More than that, he was a living refutation of the view that Western lore is incompatible with Eastern simplicity and manners. He had drunk deeply at the wells of Western thought and science. Yet he held firmly to all that is best in the civilization wherein he was born. He has left an example to us all,—modest, untiring, cheerful and large-hearted to the end.

Let me now address myself to the recipients of degrees and other students who are present and through them to the many thousands of students who throng the colleges of this, the largest University in the world. When I turned over in my mind the topics that might be helpful and inspiring to them, I was naturally led to think of that mighty event which during the last few weeks has filled all our hearts with thankfulness to the Almighty. It is to the God of Justice that we owe our victory in this world-wide war. But we may well look to the instruments through which His purpose has been accomplished. The German nation had for forty years been growing in power, wealth and influence. Among other things they possessed an old-standing and in many respects admirable system of education. But that system and indeed their whole national life were tainted by false aspirations and visions. Their great thinkers preached the loftiest and most liberal ideals. But those ideals had no foundation, in fact, no echo in the

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national life or in the real doctrines with which the youth of the country were insidiously inoculated. What were those doctrines? They were that an aggressive egoism is a necessity of life, that war is an indispensable agent in policy and civilization, that it is legitimate to use violence in order to upset the existing order of things and that, in accomplishing this end, all means, however vile, treacherous and cruel, are pardonable and indeed hallowed. Individual culture must yield to national *Kultur*—the subordination of all knowledge to the service of lawless force with a view to the enslavement of the world. Bismarck had said that imagination and sentiment are to science and intelligence as are tares to wheat—things to be weeded out and burned. The mission of the German University has been described as the creation of a body-guard of intelligence for the Hohenzollerns. And now, I ask, what are the instruments through which this terrible theory of life has been defeated? It is first the honest and hearty co-operation of all classes and creeds among peoples who deprecate such false ideals. And none has rendered better service than the variety of nations which make up the vast British Empire. From every continent they have gladly flocked knowing that they lived under a reasonable dispensation which sets justice and toleration before force and a grinding uniformity. Not least has India risen to the occasion. At the very beginning of the war she was stripped of men and munitions and she has continued to send her tens of thousands of sons to fight, often to perish, in the various theatres of war. And why was there this spontaneity of effort to preserve the Empire? Why have our Colonies, our Ruling Princes and all our wide dominions poured forth men and money in its defence?

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Because its motto, unlike that of the Germans, is "Live and let live," "Maintain the peace, but maintain also the common rights of man." Secondly, this war teaches us the great lesson of discipline. Without discipline, both individual and national, our cause would have assuredly been lost. But man has subordinated himself to man, nation to nation, and hundreds of thousands have, at the bidding of duty, not only undergone unheard of privations, but advanced cheerfully to certain destruction. Britain was utterly unprepared for a war on hand; and it was the sense of discipline instilled in her schools and unconsciously in her public life that led her people gladly to impose on themselves the unwonted and to many unwelcome yoke of conscription. It was this sense of discipline that nerved our tiny army fighting in France in the autumn of 1914, and kept up its spirit even while it was recoiling under the blows of overwhelming legions. It was this same sense of discipline that saved the world again, in the early months of this year when the eastern German armies released from Russia struck blow after blow in their second rush towards Paris and the Channel Ports. The same sense inspired the armies of our glorious Allies and, above all, our fleet, who doggedly persevered in the often unappreciated task of keeping the seas open, depressed by the ever-waning chance of meeting their foe fairly and squarely in order of battle. The same too steadied the nations in those awful crises when a stricken Europe lowered her head before the storm—those terrible pauses when it seemed as though calamity had but begun and when the vanguard clouds—

Had spent their malice and the sullen rear  
Was with its stored thunder labouring up.

*Convocation of the Calcutta University.*

Unity, discipline and, I may add, loyalty have been the instruments through which the good cause has triumphed. And now a word of caution. We have got to face the appalling task of reconstruction, and those same qualities which have served us faithfully in war must again be exercised if we are to deal successfully with the problems of peace. The self-denial, the reasonableness and the enthusiasm which they involve will be displayed in other ways, but are equally essential whether in Europe or in India, in matters of domestic concern or in matters touching the whole fabric of our Empire. We can advance to meet these questions strong in the faith which that Empire's record in the war has justified, inspired by the ideals which our sword has vindicated, going forward in a spirit of mutual self-respect, quickened by the memory of what we have together done, united in our devotion to the King-Emperor.

The qualities which have served our people and our Allies so well in the war and which are essential for success in the task now before us are not to be acquired in a day, nor without serious and consistent endeavour. Their foundations must be laid in the home, the school, and the college. Obedience to parents and to teachers, assiduity in study, punctuality in habits, the cultivation of the true instincts of sport in the playing field and hearty co-operation with fellow-students and instructors—these are the things which fit youth to tackle the problems of life honestly and effectively. Some of you may think that the petty round of daily existence hardly affords scope for the cultivation of the highest qualities, and that something more than constant attention to detail of this sort must be required in order that great achievements may eventually be accomplished. But

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*Presentation of Colours to the 5th Calcutta Battalion.*

this is a mistake. It has truly been said that though life is made up of details, life itself is not a detail, and I can assure you that especially in the plastic period of youth, no daily occurrence is too trivial, no action too small for the gradual welding together of that superlatively important fabric—human character.

PRESENTATION OF COLOURS TO THE 5TH CALCUTTA  
BATTALION.

[His Excellency the Viceroy presented new Colours to the 5th Calcutta Battalion, Indian Defence Force, on the 31st December.] 1st December 1918.

In making the presentation His Excellency said :—

I esteem it a great privilege to have this opportunity of presenting you with your new Colours.

Your first Colours were presented to you in 1857 when you came into being as the Calcutta Volunteer Guard to meet a great emergency.

Sixty years later your Corps took a new shape to meet another great emergency and coincident with that re-incarnation I am presenting you with these new Colours. You have had and have in your ranks men of high official position and social status. I congratulate you on this fine example and it is in consonance with the British tradition that men, whatever their official and social position, are ready to serve their country in whatever rank their duty calls.

And now the War is over. And we have to consider how best to modify your service to suit the needs of Peace. I believe we shall all be agreed that it is the bounden duty of



*Viceroy's visit to the Tata Works.*

everyone of British birth in this country to fit himself to bear arms in its defence. Subject to this paramount obligation we must see to it that the conditions of service are such as to be as little inconvenient as possible to the great commercial and industrial community. I am confident that consultation and co-operation between the military authorities and the parties concerned will furnish a solution of all difficulties and will ensure the establishment of an efficient force.

And now I wish to offer to your Colonel my congratulations on his military record and my best wishes on his retirement. He joined this Battalion three days after his arrival in Calcutta and he has served in it through all grades from Private to Colonel.

This is a remarkable record and furnishes a signal example of patriotic service.

I am glad to have this opportunity of congratulating him upon it and wishing him godspeed in his retirement.

## VICEROY'S VISIT TO THE TATA WORKS.

2nd January  
1919.

His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by the Hon'ble Sir George Barnes and the Military Secretary visited the Tata Iron and Steel Company's Works at Sakchi on the 2nd January 1919. In the afternoon His Excellency addressed a large gathering at the Works and said :—

I have come down here to-day in the first place to see this fine example of Indian industry. As you know it is the policy of my Government to encourage all industries in India

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*Viceroy's visit to the Tata Works.*

as far as is possible to do so and I wanted to be able to see this fine example of Indian industry which has been set up at Sakchi. In the second place I wanted to come here to express my appreciation of the great work which has been done by the Tata Company during the past four years of this war. I can hardly imagine what we should have done during these four years of this war if the Tata Company had not been able to give us steel rails which have been provided for us not only for Mesopotamia but for Egypt, Palestine and East Africa, and I have come to express my thanks to the Directorate of this Company for all that they have done and to Mr. Titwiler, the General Manager of this Company, for the enthusiastic work which he brought to bear in this behalf during the past four years.

It is hard to imagine that ten years ago this place was jungle and here we have now this undertaking set up with all its foundries and its workshops and its population of 40,000 to 50,000 people. This great enterprise has been due to the prescience, imagination and genius of the late Mr. Jamshedji Tata. We may well say that he has his lasting memorial in the works that we see here all round, but you will be pleased to hear that in deference to the filial wish of Sir Dorab Tata this place will see a change in its name and will no longer be known as Sakchi but will be identified with the name of the founder, being known through the ages by the name of Mr. Jamshedji Tata. Therefore this place will be known by the name of Jamshedpur.

It is my privilege here to-day to have been able on this, the occasion of the first visit of a Viceroy to this place, to pay my tribute to the memory of that great man.

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CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND  
ADMINISTRATIONS.

13th January 1919. In welcoming the Heads of Provinces to a Conference at Delhi on the 13th January His Excellency the Viceroy said:—

Let me first welcome you to another Conference. I believe that those of us who were present at our deliberations last year recognised the value of such meetings, and for myself I can only say that it was and is a great pleasure to have all the Heads of Local Governments collected together under my roof as my guests. I had hoped this year that we should have been able to discuss the multifarious subjects which are of common interest to us all. But I fear that we shall have little time to deal with more than the one subject, *viz.*, the subject of Reforms, and to-day I do not propose to deal with any other subject. I will not repeat to you the formula of policy enunciated by His Majesty's Government on August 20th, 1917. You are all familiar with it. But it may be useful to cite the three outstanding features of that declaration. First, the progressive realization of responsible government is given to us as the keynote and objective of our policy; secondly, substantial steps are to be taken at once in this direction; and, thirdly, this policy is to be carried out by stages.

I think I shall not be stating the basic principle of this policy unfairly when I sum it up as the gradual transfer of responsibility to Indians. We are not here to discuss the merits or demerits of this policy. It is the policy enunciated by His Majesty's Government. It has been unchallenged in Parliament for the better part of two years, and while I am conscious that there are those who would have preferred some other form of advance, I am sure that even they would agree that it is idle to discuss any variant of it at this stage, but that

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*Conference of Heads of Local Governments and Administrations.*

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what we have to do is to attempt to translate the announcement of August 20th into practice.

This was the task to which the Secretary of State and I set our hands last year, and you have the results of our joint attempt in the proposals of the Report. I am not going to travel over the whole field of those proposals, but I intend to confine my remarks to one big problem, really the one big point at issue on which everything else hangs—*viz.*, the method by which this gradual transfer of responsibility is to be achieved.

Believe me, I have no intention of making any debating points this morning. The subject is too important, the issues at stake are too great for dialectics. I shall endeavour to put before you as succinctly as possible the issue as I see it, and nothing more.

The gradual transfer of responsibility—this is what we have to secure. Now what is responsibility? I cannot but think that there has been a good deal of talk and writing which are beside the mark on this subject and perhaps our Report is equally guilty with others in this respect. What are we aiming at in our policy? Surely this, that the decision of certain matters—I will not discuss what—shall rest with Indians; that in these matters it will be for them to say “Yes” or “No”; and that our scheme shall provide as far as possible for everybody knowing that the yes or no is their yes or no, and not that of the Executive Council. With this end in view, the Secretary of State and I examined the various proposals which were put before us, and after a prolonged and careful investigation we came to the conclusion that we could

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only attain it by the methods proposed in the Report. We entered upon our enquiry with no bias in favour of dyarchy. Indeed we made every endeavour to avoid it. We were fully conscious of its difficulties. We realised the possibilities of friction inherent in any dyarchic scheme, but we felt that the alternatives proposed had similar difficulties, were equally liable to engender friction and did not provide for (which was our desideratum) the gradual transfer of responsibility.

The Government of Bombay take the line of argument in their reply to the Government of India that the onus of proof is with the supporters of the scheme and not with those who condemn. I only mention this line of argument because I cannot help regarding it as unprofitable, and I hope it will not be pursued in our discussions this week. What we wish to secure is the best method of ensuring the gradual transfer of responsibility. The duty of discovering that method was placed by His Majesty's Government on the Secretary of State and myself. For the reasons set out with great elaboration in our Report we decided upon the scheme outlined therein, and we have published it for criticism. It is not very profitable to tell us that the onus of proof lies upon us. Of course it does and we have endeavoured in the course of 177 folio pages to prove our case. What we want is a scheme which will transfer some responsibility at once, which will provide machinery by which more responsibility can be transferred at later stages, and under which ultimately full responsibility can be attained in the provincial sphere. This is the problem which we have to solve, and I can assure you that no one will be better pleased than myself—and I believe the Secretary of State—if you can provide us with such a scheme.

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Under our scheme it will be possible, I believe, to say, so far as the transferred subjects are concerned, that the Minister, and through him the Legislative Council, has said yes or no on a particular question.

Under our scheme it is possible to gradually enlarge the sphere in which the Minister and the Legislative Council will say yes or no.

And under our scheme responsibility in the whole sphere of Government can ultimately be attained.

I am passing by for the moment the criticisms, the very cogent criticisms, which have been made upon the working of our proposals and various details of our scheme. This is not because I ignore or underrate the force of those criticisms, but because I wish to concentrate your attention on the central point, *viz.*, the method by which the gradual transfer of responsibility can be achieved.

In inviting you therefore now to examine the various proposals advanced by certain Local Governments as alternatives to our scheme, I would ask you to apply the following tests :—

*Firstly*, will it be possible under it to fix responsibility on Indians with regard to any particular question of policy ?

*Secondly*, does it provide machinery by which a greater area of responsibility can later be transferred ?

*Lastly*, does it lead up gradually to a stage under which full responsibility can be attained by Indians in the provincial sphere ?

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I lay stress, as you will see, on the progressive realisation of responsible government, the words of the announcement. I should be sorry to see any attempt to content ourselves with a scheme which might dispose of the difficulties of the moment, but did not provide for future expansion and development.

I shall not attempt to deal with the various alternative schemes which have been put forward in the replies of your Governments. But I would make this general remark with regard to them. They seem to me to fall short of our desideratum on one or more of the following points :—

In some there is a duality in fact, camouflaged by an outward unity and not compensated for by the saving grace of transfer of responsibility.

In others there is the gift of power without responsibility, a state of things akin to that proposed in the Congress-Moslem League scheme, and I would beg you to examine very carefully the searching analysis and criticism of that scheme made in Chapter VII of our Report.

And now I have put before you with perhaps tedious reiteration the problem to which I invite you first to give your attention.

Believe me, I do not regard our Report as in any way verbally inspired. I am only anxious that we should arrive at the right solution. If we can arrive at an agreement as to the method of carrying out the fundamental principle, *viz.*, the transfer of responsibility, we shall at all events have cleared the ground and we can then examine the machinery which will be necessary.

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If your deliberations lead you to agree in preferring some different scheme from that put forward in the Report, then I think it is fair to ask you to develop your alternative in some detail; so that I and my colleagues in the Government of India may have the same chance of judging it as the critics of the Report have had of judging the proposals of the Secretary of State and myself.

#### CHIEFS' CONFERENCE AT DELHI, JANUARY 1919.

The Conference of Ruling Chiefs and Princes to discuss matters 20th January connected with the States and their Rulers commenced to-day in the 1919. Imperial Legislative Council Chamber. About forty Chiefs were present. His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the proceedings said:—

*Your Highnesses*,—Before we proceed to business it is fitting that I should refer to the losses which this Conference has sustained during the past year. Since last we met no less than six of those who have attended these gatherings on previous occasions have passed away, *viz.*, the Maharajas of Jodhpur, Rewa and Faridkot, the Maharawal of Dungarpur, the Nawab of Palanpur, and the Raja of Khairagarh. I am sure that Your Highnesses will wish to join me in recording our sympathy with the families of these Princes, whose loss we deeply deplore.

The year which has passed since I last welcomed Your Highnesses in this hall has been a momentous one. I allude not only to the great drama which has been enacted on the battlefields of Europe and of Asia, where the fate of India



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was decided in common with that of the Western Nations, but also to events which have taken place in India and in which India has a more exclusive interest. The year has witnessed the greatest war efforts which this country has yet put forth and the share which the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India have taken in the victory of the Allies is one of which Your Highnesses may well be proud. It has also seen a further step in the evolution of the relations between this great country and the Empire with which its destinies are linked. The Report on Indian Constitutional Reform has now been public for some seven months. Our principal business will be to consider that Report so far as it affects the Indian States.

At the outset it will be well to refer to the course of events leading up to Chapter X of the Report. In closing the proceedings of the last Conference, I assured Your Highnesses with reference to the development of these annual meetings that any scheme which you might put forward would receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration of the Government of India. That same afternoon I understand that Your Highnesses appointed a Committee to draw up such a scheme, and this Committee in successive meetings, held in November, December and January, prepared draft proposals which were informally placed before the Government of India. Communications from various quarters indicated that the scheme thus formulated did not represent the unanimous opinion of all the Princes, but considerations of space made it impracticable at the time to invite Your Highnesses to a full Conference, and we had to be satisfied with an informal discussion with certain of your number. This discussion was held at Delhi on the 4th and 5th February

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of last year and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India was present at it. A digest of the proceedings was circulated in the following month and Your Highnesses will have noted that at the outset of the meeting I explained that it was not intended to arrive at any final and binding decisions. The discussions were, however, of very great value to the Secretary of State and myself when subsequently we came to draft Chapter X of our Report, and I now invite Your Highnesses' considered opinion on the recommendations that we have made in that chapter.

The first recommendation is that, with a view to future improvement of relations between the Crown and the States, a definite line should be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. The question of such a line has arisen in practical form in connection with the issue of invitations to Conferences on previous occasions. But Mr. Montagu and I felt strongly that, quite apart from this consideration, such a dividing line would be likely to be of advantage both to Your Highnesses and to the Government of India as tending to minimise the risk that, in the words of the Report, "practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also." I am aware that the form in which our recommendation is framed has aroused anxiety among some of those Rulers who, though invited year by year to past Conferences, are not entitled to be regarded as exercising "full powers of administration," if the phrase is to be strictly interpreted. All such have been invited to attend to-day and they are thus in a position to represent their claims in person, but in order to clear the air of possible misunderstandings I should like to take this

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opportunity of explaining our reasons for wording the proposal in the form in which it appears in paragraph 302 of the Report.

Your Highnesses' Committee in the final draft Scheme recommended that the Council or Chamber should be composed of—

- (a) The Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction, over their subjects and the power to make their own laws.
- (b) All other Princes enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over; provided that no State or Estate having feudatory relations with any sovereign State shall be eligible for membership of the Chamber.

In a previous draft of the Scheme it had been suggested that the Chamber "should be composed of the Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws." After full consideration Mr. Montagu and I were of opinion that the Committee's first thoughts were on right lines. We felt that the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigation in view of the anomalies which appear to exist, and we held, therefore, that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list, as it stands, any fundamental distinction between the more important States and the remainder. It appeared to us that if such a distinction is made, it must be based upon constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. The definition as now worded automatically excludes any

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States or Estates having feudatory relations with a full powered State, though I would here remark that it would not, of course, be appropriate to regard mere payments, originally of a tributary nature made by one State to another, as necessarily constituting feudatory relations.

I look to Your Highnesses to advise, in the first place, whether it is desirable that such a distinction should be drawn, and in the second place, if so, how the phrase "full powers of internal administration" should be interpreted in cases where doubt may arise. I may say at once that, in my opinion, the question whether a State is "full powered" or not should be regarded as unaffected by the fact that the Ruler's powers may be, for personal or local reasons, temporarily in abeyance or limited, though circumstances might exist in which the imposition of restrictions on a Ruler's powers might connote the desirability of his personal withdrawal from membership of the Princes' Conference. The essential question for classification purposes would seem to be whether the Ruler has normally the power to legislate for the welfare of his subjects and to conduct the administration without the intervention of British officials. I am aware that the power to pass death sentences is usually regarded as the most important test of the internal independence of a Ruler, but where this power, actually inherent in the Ruler, has been held in abeyance by Government pending the attainment by the State's judiciary of a reliable standard of efficiency, it would not seem necessary that the State should be excluded merely on this account from the full power list. In cases where restrictions still in force were imposed by the treaties or engagements which regulated our early relations with particular States or groups of States,

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it may well be a matter for consideration by Government whether, in some cases, these restrictions might now reasonably be abrogated.

A Memorandum has been prepared by the Foreign and Political Department showing existing restrictions on the powers of various Rulers whose eligibility for membership of the Chamber may be in doubt. Copies of this Memorandum will be available for Your Highnesses' confidential information. Before quitting this point I should like to repeat a statement, which I made a few months ago at Dhar, namely, that the Government of India are concerned to safeguard the rights, privileges, and interests of the relatively small States no less than those of their larger neighbours and welcome their Rulers equally cordially as partners and co-workers.

The next recommendation is that with the consent of the Rulers of States their relations with the Government of India should be examined, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardise, and codify existing practice for the future. In his Journal written more than a hundred years ago, Lord Hastings referred to "the formidable mischief," I quote his own words, "which has arisen from our not having defined to ourselves or made intelligible to the Native Princes the quality of the relations which we have established with them." In the Memorandum prepared in January last by a Committee of Your Highnesses' this sentence is quoted with approval. I realise that that Memorandum must not be taken as conveying the considered opinion of those who did not share in its preparation, and I believe that in regard to this proposal, also, some concern has been felt by some among your number

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lest standardisation should involve a diminution of treaty rights. With a view to remove this concern, I desire to explain that the phrase "of course only by consent of parties," which occurs in paragraph 305 of the Report, means that it will rest entirely with the discretion of individual States whether to apply for the revision or modification of their existing treaties, engagements or sanads. It would clearly be absurd to imagine that the British Government would try to force upon a disapproving minority revised treaties in a standard form which might seem desirable to a differently situated majority.

On the other hand, although direct agreement naturally constitutes the most important source of obligations existing between the British Government and the States, yet it does not supply the full volume of them, and study of long-established custom and practice is essential to a proper comprehension of the true character of the bond. The Government of India are anxious that the matter should be most fully ventilated, because the suggestion has been made that custom and practice have in the past tended to encroach in certain respects on treaty rights. Since we last met Your Highnesses have all, I believe, through your Residents and Political Agents, been invited to bring to notice instances of such encroachment, and I need hardly assure you that your representations will receive the most careful examination. I shall further welcome any general observations which any of Your Highnesses may desire to make during the Conference either on the subject of infringement of treaty rights or in regard to the possibility of revising treaties or simplifying and standardising custom and practice. There is an obvious risk that any over-rigid standardisation might

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fail to take due account of the peculiar circumstances of particular States and of the special obligations which we owe to them by treaty. But the advantages of cautious codification are also clear, and the tendency of all progress is towards greater definition. Of recent years we have endeavoured to review our practice under various heads. Sometimes we have done this in consultation with Your Highnesses assembled here in conference, as in such matters as minority administration and succession procedure. Sometimes we have proceeded by other means, as in the case of our policy in respect of telephones, tramways, compensation for land acquired for railways, the procedure for the grant of mining rights, and so forth. We believe that in all these matters the result of our review has been to bring our practice more abreast of the requirements of the times and to harmonise it with the Durbar's needs. Your Highnesses will no doubt advise me whether in your opinion this policy can well be carried further in consultation with Your Highnesses, and, if so, in what direction. It is possible that many of Your Highnesses may consider that if the recommendations made in the remaining items of the Agenda are eventually adopted, and especially the recommendation in regard to the placing of important States in direct political relations with the Government of India, the desired unification of practice and development of constitutional doctrine will automatically follow.

There are other observations which I have to make on the subject of treaty rights and the obligations of the States, but I reserve these for a later occasion, when we come to discuss the Agenda in detail.

Next comes the proposal to establish a permanent Council of Princes. At the last meeting I expressed the view that

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if an institution is to meet a real want and to give real help towards the progress of India, it must evolve gradually on the lines which experience may show are best suited to its healthy growth. To this view I still adhere. In any measures you may suggest in pursuance of the scheme, Your Highnesses will, I am sure, recognise the wisdom of proceeding with the greatest caution and of avoiding unnecessary restrictions or complications. I desire, at this point, to make it quite plain that the institution of the Council of Princes will not prejudice the relations of any individual Durbar with Government. It has already been said in paragraph 306 of the Report that the direct transaction of business between the Government of India or any State would not of course be affected by the institution of the Council, but it is important to emphasise this in the clearest possible terms. The Durbar of a very important State in their written Memorandum have said, in this connection, that "it would be more desirable to have a properly constituted deliberative assembly with defined powers to deal with matters applicable to all the States generally as well as questions of common interest between British India and the Indian States." The Durbar do not, however, explain how the assembly could be vested with defined powers unless the Rulers who compose it are willing, in some measure, to entrust to a corporate body rights which they at present enjoy as individuals. Such delegation of powers is apparently deprecated by the Durbar, because they say, later, that "the preservation of the right of dealing direct with the Government of India should, in fact, be an absolute *sine quâ non* of the working of any such general Advisory Council."

In all matters relating to the constitution of the proposed Council, it is necessary to realise, firstly, that attendance and



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voting will be voluntary, and, secondly, that each individual State represented in it will retain the right of separate negotiation with Government and the right to expect that Government will consult the Durbar in writing in regard to important matters affecting their interests. Lastly, there is another essential point which I feel confident Your Highnesses will bear in mind. We, on our part, are glad to develop means whereby Your Highnesses may maintain your rights and increase your *izzat*. You, on your part, will not forget that the British Government *is* the Paramount Power in India, and that this fact must colour its relations with Your Highnesses in respect of the institution and proceedings of this Council as in other matters. With these words I will leave the development of the theme to Your Highnesses, and I am sure that there will be much thoughtful and fruitful discussion on this all-important subject.

Following on the proposal for a Council is that for a Standing Committee of this body. Of the working of a Council we already have some experience gained at Annual Conferences in the past. The appointment of a Standing Committee would be a new experiment, and there is therefore all the more need for treading cautiously. I understand that the suggestion has not met with unanimous approval and that some of the Central India Durbars think that a series of local Standing Committees would be more useful than a Central body.

Then there is the recommendation for Commissions of Enquiry. I believe that this may well prove one of the most fruitful of our proposals not only by reason of the differences that it may settle, but by reason of the increased spirit of confidence which we hope it may engender. The

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findings of a judicial tribunal are not always acceptable to the parties concerned in a particular case. But the knowledge that a competent and independent Court of Enquiry may at any moment be called into existence is in itself a valuable asset, and should go far to remove any feeling which may exist that the Government of India are both judge and advocate in their own cause. It should also obviate any complaint that the reasons by which Government are actuated in their decisions are either not disclosed or only inadequately stated. I have heard it said that some of the less affluent States are afraid that if disputes between them and wealthier States were referred to a Commission of Enquiry, they would be at a disadvantage, since the expense of preparing their cases and engaging competent counsel would be prohibitive. The answer to this is that the Viceroy has entire discretion whether to refer a case to a Commission of Enquiry or not, and he would undoubtedly never do so if there were likelihood that reference to a Commission would involve unfair disadvantage to one of the parties. It would never be allowed that the Commission of Enquiry should develop into an engine of oppression to be used by the richer against the poorer States.

Your Highnesses will have observed that it is proposed that the Court should be a Court of Enquiry only. It will be obvious, however, that the finding of a Court constituted as we propose must carry the greatest weight with the Government of India, and in what we hope will be the rare case of the Government being unable to accept its findings, we propose a right of appeal to the Secretary of State.

Next we have the proposal for a Commission of Enquiry to advise on any question that may arise—we hope but very

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rarely—of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers or of debarring from succession a member of his family. This too is based on the recommendations of your Committee, and I trust that in the definite formulation of this principle Your Highnesses will recognise the desire of the Government of India to afford the amplest security against any risk of hasty or arbitrary treatment in a matter which must always be one of deep concern to your Order.

The seventh proposal is that, as a general principle, all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Central Government. In paragraph 310 of the Report we have discriminated between the States which are now in relation with Local Governments and those which are in relation with the Government of India through Agents to the Governor-General. As regards the former, we said that their future position cannot be determined immediately, since both the wishes of the Durbars and also the administrative advantages must be considered. We thought that in some cases the Government of India might assume direct relations with these States, while in others they might be left for the time being in relation with the Provincial Government. There are, as Your Highnesses know, very real difficulties in the way of inaugurating any uniform rule in the matter. In the case of some States their remoteness from Delhi and Simla is a bar to closer relations with the Central Government. In other cases the administrative interests of British Provinces and States are so closely interwoven that any proposal for change of method requires most careful scrutiny. We may keep the principle of direct relations before us as the objective at which to aim, but we must beware of hasty action, and proceed circumspectly.

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The cases of States in relation with Local Governments will accordingly be considered in due course with reference to the wishes of the Durbars and the administrative requirements of the situation.

I turn next to consideration of the principle which should govern communication with States which are or may be in direct political relations with the Central Government. The ideal to be aimed at is that there should be, wherever possible, only one Political Officer through whom the State should correspond with the Government of India. In paragraph 310 of the Report it is stated that where the authority immediately subordinate to the Government of India is an Agent to the Governor-General, the choice should lie generally between abolishing the office of local Political Agents or Residents, while transferring their functions to the Agent to the Governor-General with an increased staff of assistants and abolishing the post of Agent to the Governor-General while retaining Residents accredited to States or groups of States. A third alternative is that, instead of abolishing either the Agent to the Governor-General or the Resident, where both officers exist, the Residents of particular States might be allowed to communicate direct with the Government of India, sending a copy of such communication to the Agent to the Governor-General for his information. Before discussion opens as to the feasibility of these suggestions, or others that may be put forward, I wish to make it plain that the Government of India do not contemplate the possibility of stereotyping their means of communication with States by sweeping changes which shall be of universal application. Some States have reached the stage of advancement at which it would be both convenient and

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suitable for them to have direct political relations with the Agent to the Governor-General, should they desire this. In other cases, Durbars both need and would doubtless prefer to retain for the present the advice and assistance of an officer living on the spot, or near by, who is acquainted with local conditions. Again while it is eminently appropriate that the greater States should be in relation with the Government of India through their individual Residents, the system is not capable of indefinite extension, since over-centralisation is incompatible with wise and sympathetic conduct of affairs. We wish to clear and straighten the channels of communication where they are choked or devious, but this does not mean scrapping the distributary system. Groups of States will, for a long time to come, need the advice and assistance of a senior Political Officer equipped with a staff of specialists trained in the different branches of administration, while, on the other hand, the Government of India equally need the intervention of such an officer both as a convenient channel of communication, and to relieve them of minor responsibilities with which they are not fitted to deal. Co-ordinating influence and external stimulus are particularly necessary when difficulties arise, such as famine or plague or matters of common obligation, affecting many States, or for the solution of local problems not justifying reference to the Central Government. Recent war emergencies have illustrated this very forcibly.

The last proposal is a further development from the scheme for a Council. Your Highnesses will recollect that in dealing with the constitution of British India we have proposed in the Joint Report a Council of State which, to use the words of the Report, "shall take its part in ordinary

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legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential." What we have in view is to provide means of deliberation between the Government of India and Your Highnesses on matters of common interest by joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of State and the Council of Princes or between representatives of each body. Such joint deliberation would take place only at the instance of the Viceroy and it will be obvious that in making use of the provision the Viceroy would attach the greatest weight to any wishes which Your Highnesses might from time to time express in the matter. The arrangement would be permissive only, and at the outset I suggest that simplicity and freedom from restrictions will be a supreme merit of a scheme which, rightly used, may well hold a rich store of benefit for this great country which we all love and in which the Princes and Chiefs have a joint heritage with the peoples of British India.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE AT DELHI.

The following speech was delivered by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior on the closing day of the Ruling Chiefs' Conference. 25th January 1919.

*Your Excellency*,—Now that this Conference is coming to an end it is fitting that I should offer on behalf of my brother Princes and myself some observations on matters of general interest as well as on the useful experience which the present session has brought us all. On the first day of our meeting Your Excellency's remarkable account brought home to us more clearly than ever the complexity of the Indian States' problem as well as the difficulty of finding for it a suitable solution, but more of this later. It seems more suitable that I should at the outset briefly allude to certain epoch-making events which by their

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importance appear to me to claim priority of mention. The armistice which was signed on November 11th marked the happy ending of the greatest war known to history, including a heart-breaking expenditure of blood and treasure. There is in this occasion for deep thankfulness to the Ordainer of human affairs. We now look forward to the conclusion of a just and lasting peace—a peace which we trust will not only secure tranquillity to the British Empire for a long time to come but will also bring about a fair adjustment of the rights of all races and communities. I refer to the glorious end of the war to recall what has rendered its achievement possible. Bearing in mind the part played in the war by the British Empire, I think it is no exaggeration to say that it was the absolute unity of that composite structure which operated most powerfully towards that end, and if I may raise a further question only to supply an equally obvious answer, what rendered such perfect cohesion possible? It was the personality of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, which has won him an ample and firm place in the affections of his people. It is not the sentiment which only tradition breeds that I express, but a deduction from the world's history when I say that a hereditary throne is the greatest binding and welding force in the life of nations and communities. We, Princes of India, rejoice to find on all sides undeniable evidence of attachment to the British Throne, and it inspires us with the brightest hopes for the good of humanity and the peace of the world to find the British Throne, to which we are bound by very close ties, more secure than ever before, and I may say in consequence of the great struggle which has thrown many a crown into the melting pot. This security which is broad-based upon the affection and goodwill of the people is, we firmly believe, going shortly to find its counterpart in the adoption of liberal measures calculated to improve the machinery of the Government of India. These measures, which are irrevocably promised, will bring in their train enhanced loyalty and contentment in India and the ampler they can be made, with a due regard for the conditions that are, and the quicker they can be enforced, the greater will be their certain result. I am not using the language of convention, but I speak from conviction, when I say that both the amplitude and the expedition are assured by the combination which we all regard to be of happy augury,

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*viz.*, the constitution of Your Excellency the Viceroy and the reappointment to the Secretaryship of State for India of the Right Hon'ble E. S. Montagu. The recent elevation of our distinguished countryman, Sir Satyendra Sinha, to the peerage and his appointment to an office in the British Government is an example of insight, great political imagination, and which is even more important, of genuine honesty of purpose and we refuse to credit the libel, from wherever it emanates, that in this measure of simple justice to a people there is even the slightest taint of party or other questionable tactics. The recognition of India's rights is further emphasised by her direct representation in the Peace Conference, and in the inclusion of our illustrious brother, the Maharaja of Bikaner, amongst the delegates to Versailles, we recognise the determination to accord to Indian States their rightful place in the fabric of the British Empire. For all this our heartfelt thanks are due to Your Excellency's insight into existing conditions and Mr. Montagu's powerful grasp of facts, no less than to the sympathy and sense of justice of the British Cabinet. To all of them we are also grateful for the generous appreciation of our services during the war.

I come to Your Excellency's opening address. I propose to deal with the order of importance of the points that call for notice. Your Excellency called upon us to remember that the British Government is the Paramount Power in India. As regards this direct reminder we feel no hesitation in saying, as unequivocally as possible, that the paramountcy of the British Government is a fact that is not open to challenge. It is a fact that is readily admitted and a fact that is recognised as a blessing because it is accompanied with justice. It is perhaps within the experience of us all that side issues have a tendency to confound the more important ones. The bearing of this remark will be apparent when I recall to Your Excellency's mind the origin of the present conference and of the desire for the formation of a collective body of Princes. That desire was not the result of the impending changes in the administrative machinery of India. It was the outcome of the feeling that so long as each State sought the solution of its difficulties or the removal of its disabilities by individual representation, such difficulties, though in many instances common, were apt to be treated as peculiar to the State which represented them and while



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this possible misapprehension prevailed, not only was the realisation of the fact that difficulties were common to the States likely to be unduly delayed, but the individual representations could not be expected to carry the weight they deserved. This was one determining factor. The absence of an organ for the collective expression of opinion was also responsible for bringing about a condition of affairs in which the interests of the States in such matters as affected them jointly with British India were exposed to the risk of being ignored. In addition there were certain crying needs which it has now been sought to meet by the application of plain and direct remedies, and these remedies, such for instance as the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry for the purposes stated and the placing of States in direct political relations with the Government of India, are, I may say, so essential that their application does not admit of delay. Allusion was made by Your Excellency to the improvement of relations between the Crown and the States. With regard to this all that is desired is that the various rights secured to the States by their individual treaties, as also their inherent sovereign rights, shall be ensured to them and consistently respected, and further that no practice or measure would in future be permitted to come into being which, directly or indirectly, overrides the expressed or implied intention of the treaties. It will be admitted that no treaties are ever comprehensive documents. Ours having been drawn up to meet the conditions that existed at the time of their conclusion and having had for their purposes the attainment of particular objects, they can cover but a very limited field. Their tenor, however, is unmistakable and their general clauses clearly indicate the enjoyment by the States of a status and position which, in the course of time, have suffered diminution in practice. Therefore what the States ask for is that no measure inconsistent with this tenor and those clauses should be adopted by the Imperial Government and imposed upon the States. In any case, to all such measures as are likely to affect in any degree the internal autonomy of the States, their free consent should be previously obtained. Then, again, there was reference to the necessity of making a distinction between the more important

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States and the rest, and Your Excellency remarked that the distinction could only be based upon constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. The fundamental consideration determining the distinction could not have been more aptly described, and we entirely concur with this principle.

As regards Commissions of Enquiry, in order to allay the apprehensions of some of the less affluent States, Your Excellency thought fit to give a very positive assurance that such commissions "would never be allowed to develop into engines of oppression to be used by the richer against the poorer States." The sentiment underlying the assurance is in consonance with the best traditions of the British Government, but, if I may venture so to put it, there is also another side to the shield and an opposite and real danger to be avoided; an equal degree of determination should characterise the resolve to see that the accident of wealth is not detrimental to the interests of any State. The fear might not unnaturally be entertained that where there was a clear case for the appointment of a commission the less affluent State—and disparity there must be between the means of any two States—might find it very convenient to plead comparative poverty and by plausibly appealing to the possibility of oppression prevent adjudication by a means unquestionably the fairest. Such pleas often go with a bad case and, *per contra*, wealth and a good case, quite a conceivable combination in the ordinary law court. It might sometimes happen that the command of the bar may deflect the award in the direction of the longest purse, but before independent commissions such as those contemplated in the Reforms Report, the merits of the case may be safely relied upon to prevail over all other considerations.

As regards the results achieved by the present conference in respect of the important subjects that came before us [for discussion, I will only make a brief reference here on each point. We have decided by a majority that a definite line should be drawn

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hereafter between the sovereign and others. As regards the question of the examination of treaties and the need of codifying and standardising past usage, we have appointed a special committee to thresh out this question with the Government of India and make suggestions at our next meeting. We have unanimously decided in favour of the early establishment of an organisation of Princes which is to be hereafter called by the name of "Narendra Mandal" (in English Chamber of Princes). We have carried resolutions for the establishment of Commissions of Enquiry and for the election of Standing Committees, as outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, but with a slight modification. We have cordially and unanimously supported the proposition of direct political relations between all the important States and the Imperial Government. A Committee has been appointed to deal with the question of the means to be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes. It should be postponed until the Chamber of the Princes and Chiefs has been established and the result of the proposal made for the introduction of the reforms in British India is definitely known.

I am afraid I have taxed Your Highnesses' patience rather long, but the importance of the occasion and the magnitude of the interests involved rendered this unavoidable. While thanking Your Excellency for the patience and sympathy with which you have guided our deliberations, we earnestly hope that our labours will bear rich fruit in the near future.

His Excellency the Viceroy in reply said :—

I thank Your Highness for the reply which you have just made to my opening address at the commencement of this conference. The text of the reply only reached my hands a few minutes before this sitting. You will not expect me therefore in such circumstances to deal off-hand with the important matters which have been discussed in it. I have already alluded to them in my opening speech, but I can assure Your Highnesses that all that has passed in debate here and

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the views which have been expressed in Your Highness' reply will receive our most careful consideration. I think all agree that the debates this year have been of special interest, and I am sure that they have been of value to us all. It is always a great pleasure to me personally to have this opportunity of meeting Your Highnesses here, enabling you to discuss with me and with other members of my Government the problems which you have at heart, and I can assure you that we are all of us delighted to see you and discuss things with you.

It now only remains for me to wish Your Highnesses good-bye and a safe return to your States, and to express the hope that you may be all here once again in November to consider the important matters which we discussed at these conferences.

May I say that to constitute a permanent record of this conference a photograph will be taken immediately after our adjournment to-day. I now wish Your Highnesses good-bye and thank you for your attendance here and for the fruitful discussions which have taken place.

#### REVIEW OF NEPALESE TROOPS AT DELHI.

His Excellency the Viceroy, escorted by the Body-guard and 5th February accompanied by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and full staff, reviewed ten regiments of the Nepalese Contingent prior to their return to Nepal. The Viceroy in addressing the troops said :—

It is with much gratification that I welcome you here to day. It will be remembered by all present that at the very commencement of the war His Excellency Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, on behalf of

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the Government of Nepal, placed at the disposal of the British Government the whole of the military resources of Nepal. His Excellency's magnificent offer was communicated to His Majesty the King-Emperor, by whom this proof of the friendship and devotion of the Government of Nepal was deeply appreciated.

It was then agreed by the Government of India in consultation with His Excellency the Prime Minister that a force of Nepalese troops should be sent from Nepal for general service in India. The first contingent of this force, consisting of six battalions, arrived in India in March 1915. A second contingent of four battalions followed in the ensuing cold weather. The battalions were located partly at Kakul, near Abbottabad, and partly at Dehra Dun; these stations have formed the headquarters of the force, but battalions have been moved, when necessary, to other stations. The force has been under the command of its own Generals, namely, General Padma Shumshere Jung, General Tej Shumshere Jung and General Shere Shumshere Jung. General Sir Baber Shumshere Jung, the son of the Prime Minister, also accompanied the force to India as Inspector-General of the Nepalese Contingent to exercise general supervisory functions. He has been attached to the staff of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and I know that His Excellency has at all times found his advice and assistance of the greatest value.

The contingent has now been with us for close on four years—four of the most momentous and pregnant years, perhaps, in the world's history. When in 1914 Germany threw all treaties to the winds and ruthlessly overran

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Belgium, her aims were at once apparent. Prompted by ungovernable ambition and lust for power, she had embarked on a war to secure for herself the dominion of the world.

These were the circumstances in which Nepal's generous and wholly spontaneous offer of assistance was made and accepted. During these eventful four years there have been times when the outlook has been dark, but Great Britain and her Allies, with an unalterable faith in the justice and righteousness of their cause, have never faltered in their purpose, and three months ago the war was brought to a dramatic and triumphant conclusion. Of her share in this triumph India may well be proud, and no section of the Indian Army has contributed to it in greater measure than the Gurkha battalions. In France, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, Palestine and Salonika your fellow-countrymen have covered themselves with glory and worthily maintain the high fighting traditions of their race. During this time your contingent has filled a useful rôle in forming part of the garrison which it has been necessary to maintain for the security of India, and has also had an opportunity of seeing some fighting. Three of your battalions, the 1st Rifle Regiment, the Mahindradal Regiment, and the Shere Regiment, formed part of the force detailed for the operations in Waziristan on the North-West Frontier in 1917, and rendered valuable service, especially on the 21st June, when a number of strongly held enemy sungars were captured by Nepalese troops. Four Indian decorations for gallantry, namely, one Indian Order of Merit and three Indian Distinguished Service Medals, were awarded to members of the contingent on this occasion.

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During your stay in India you have gained experience which will, I hope, prove valuable on your return to Nepal. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief informs me that your battalions have reached a high state of efficiency, and that officers and men have shown the greatest keenness and intelligence in carrying out their duties. The conduct of the troops has throughout been exemplary.

I have now much pleasure in announcing that His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to confer the following honours upon officers of the contingent in recognition of their valuable services during the war :—

An Honorary Knight Commandership of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India upon General Sir Baber Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, K.C.I.E.

Honorary Knight Commanderships of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire upon Commanding General Padma Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana and General Tej Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana.

An Honorary Knight Commandership of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire upon Major-General Shere Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana.

Honorary Companionships of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire upon—

Colonel Indra Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana ;

Lieut.-Colonel Bhuban Bikram Rana ;

Lieut.-Colonel Shumshere Bikram Rana ;

Lieut.-Colonel Dumber Shumshere Thapa ;

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Lieut.-Colonel Jit Jung Sahi ;

Lieut.-Colonel Bhairab Shumshere Jung Bahadur  
Rana ;

Lieut.-Colonel Madan Man Singh Basniat ;

Lieut.-Colonel Gambhir Jung Thapa ;

Lieut.-Colonel Chandra Jung Thapa ;

Major Uttam Bikram Rana ;

Captain Grihmardan Thapa, and

Captain Narsingh Bahadur Basniat.

I have also decided, with the concurrence of the Nepal Government, to make a distribution of the Order of British India and the Indian Meritorious Service Medal upon certain officers of lower rank and selected non-commissioned officers and men of the contingent. The actual recipients of these decorations have been selected by my Government in consultation with the Government of Nepal.

And now in the name of India, I bid you farewell and godspeed. I trust that notwithstanding the trying times through which we have passed, you will carry back with you to your country kindly recollections of your sojourn here—memories which will still further strengthen the bonds of friendship which have existed between us for so many years.

General Sir Baber Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana in replying said :—

Your Excellency,—On behalf of the Generals, officers and men of the Nepalese Contingent I beg to thank Your Excellency for the honour which you have done to us to-day. We are all very grateful to Your Excellency and your Government and to His Excellency the



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Commander-in-Chief for the uniform courtesy and consideration which we have received during our four years' stay in India. Being deeply sensible of the honours which the King-Emperor of India has conferred on us to-day, we beg leave to tender through Your Excellency our humble thanks to His Imperial Majesty. We shall all carry away pleasant recollections of our time in India and surely Nepal shall ever in future, as in the past, remain a real and faithful ally of England.

OPENING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL  
SESSION AT DELHI.

**6th February 1919.** The first meeting of the Delhi Session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on 6th February, the Viceroy presiding. After the swearing in of the new Members the Commander-in-Chief laid on the table a copy of certain telegrams received in reply to the message conveying the terms of the resolution of thanks and congratulation to the Allied Armies adopted by the Council.

[His Excellency the Viceroy then addressed the Council as follows:—]

In welcoming Hon'ble Members once again to their Delhi Session, I think there is no topic to which I can more aptly refer at the outset than the elevation of our friend—once familiar to us here as Sir Satyendra Sinha—to the peerage and to a place in His Majesty's Government. I am sure that I shall be voicing the unanimous opinion of this assembly when I say that we are deeply gratified by the high distinction he has achieved, and that we are confident he will rise equal to the great opportunity which by his high intellectual qualities and his unflinching tact he has created for himself in the central counsels of the Empire. Personally I have always had the warmest friendship and admiration for Sir Satyendra, and I have no reason to doubt that I shall consistently entertain similar feelings towards the Right Hon'ble the Lord Sinha.

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Now there are one or two matters affecting Hon'ble Members themselves to which I will refer briefly. The first is the extension of the term of office of Members. In the ordinary course it would have been necessary to hold a general election in the spring, since with one exception all the elected Members will have completed their terms before the September Session. This seemed to me undesirable for many reasons having regard to existing circumstances, and accordingly, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, the regulations were amended so as to enable me to extend the life of the existing Council for a period of one year in all. I have exercised this power so as to prolong the term of office of Members till the 20th July 1920.

As Hon'ble Members are aware, I recently intimated to them that it would not be possible to find time during the present Session for the discussion of ordinary resolutions, and I explained the reasons that actuated me in coming to this decision. I hoped that these reasons were such as would commend themselves to Hon'ble Members, as I know that they are as anxious as I am to facilitate the progress of the Reforms proposals. A protest has, however, been received from one Hon'ble Member against the action I have taken. I do not propose to discuss the arguments with which this protest is supported, as I am satisfied that my action is not only in the public interest, but is entirely in accordance with past practice. It is, moreover, unnecessary for me to do so, as the Hon'ble Member in question, while feeling himself bound as a lawyer to protest, generously expresses himself as anxious to fall in with the object I have in view. I will only add that it is my desire to expedite the

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grant of wider facilities for public discussion that has led me to arrive at the decision I have taken, and I think Hon'ble Members know me well enough to believe that no power that I may possess will ever be used for the curtailment of the privileges of this Council. I would, therefore, ask Members to have patience and to put up with what they may regard as a temporary inconvenience in order to accelerate the progress of measures which may lead to the grant of further powers to their successors.

Among the legislative matters to be brought before you in the ensuing session are two bills of the highest importance. I refer of course to the bills to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission presided over by Sir Sydney Rowlatt. These recommendations were unanimous, and coming as they did from persons who command the greatest authority, the Government of India decided that they should be brought before this Council in the shape of the necessary legislative measures. The necessity for proceeding with legislation on the subject in this session is of course due to the early termination of hostilities and the prospect of the conclusion of peace in the near future. The very important powers which have enabled the public peace and order of India to be preserved during the war will shortly come to an end. It is essential in my judgment that they should be replaced by adequate substitutes. The sudden release from restraint and control of the forces of anarchy would involve a position which we cannot contemplate. The reaction against all authority which has manifested itself in many parts of the civilised world is not likely to leave India entirely untouched and the powers of evil are still

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abroad. We cannot shut our eyes to the undoubted existence in India of definitely revolutionary organisations.

There are facts which can neither be denied nor explained away, and the Government of India would be failing in its duty if it did not make preparation to deal with them. After the most anxious consideration of the subject I have come to the very clear conclusion that special measures are essential, not only to the maintenance of His Majesty's Government in this country, but to the safety of the lives and property of its citizens. I can only commend these bills to your very earnest and careful consideration.

Some Members of the Council will remember that in the cold weather of 1913-14 Lord Hardinge's Government accepted a resolution moved by Mr. Rama Raya Venkataranga that a joint commission of officials and non-officials should be appointed to investigate the whole subject of jail administration and to suggest improvements in the light of the experience of the West. A Committee for that purpose was on the point of being constituted when the war broke out and made it practically impossible to hope that any Committee could obtain assistance in England or any other country that had taken up arms. Now that hostilities have ceased we have taken the question up once more, and I hope that we shall shortly be able to announce the appointment of a small Committee under the chairmanship of an expert from England who is a very high authority on these matters.

It will be also within your recollection that as a result of a resolution in this Council last September a Committee composed partly of official and partly of non-official Members

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of this Council met to consider the administration of the Arms Act. We have given the report of this Committee our most earnest attention and have lately formulated our conclusions upon the subject and submitted them to the Secretary of State. I do not suppose that they will give satisfaction to all, but the subject bristles with difficulties, and I hope it will be generally recognised when the changes we have decided to introduce are placed before the public that a serious attempt has been made to grapple with a very knotty problem.

I have already mentioned in this Council the bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel to enable district municipalities in Bombay to adopt with the sanction of the Local Government compulsory elementary education for children. That bill has now become law, and I am glad to see that the Government of Bombay propose to behave in a liberal manner to any municipality which desires and is able to adopt its provisions. I have recently given my assent to a bill of a similar nature but of wider application in Bihar and Orissa and other bills are either awaiting introduction or have arrived at various stages in the process of legislation.

It is a matter for congratulation that in two provinces where primary education has hitherto been peculiarly backward, namely, the United Provinces and the Punjab, vigorous action is now contemplated.

The compulsory education bills which are in process of becoming law require that Government should be satisfied that proper facilities are, or can be, provided before the measure becomes applicable in any particular area. This is a very proper condition and I make no doubt that Local

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Governments, when laying down rules under such sections, will also pay special attention to the very important problem of the training of teachers. Among our vernacular teachers only 32 per cent. are trained. If, as we hope now that the war is over, the rate of expansion of mass education is accelerated, the institutions for the training of vernacular teachers will have to be multiplied, enlarged and strengthened. For the first essential of a school is an efficient teacher, and if our teachers are inefficient, the money spent upon their pay and upon the buildings, equipment and upkeep of the school is only too likely to be money thrown away. We addressed the Local Governments on this important matter in 1916 and further allotted a recurring Imperial grant of thirty lakhs for the training and pay of teachers in the ensuing year. I observe with pleasure that the resolution issued by the Government of the United Provinces in pursuance of the policy for the expansion of primary education lays special stress upon the importance of training teachers, which is indeed, as I have frequently urged, a necessary preliminary to any effective advance.

Since the last occasion on which I addressed you, we have received the long-expected Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. I regard this Report as a State document of the greatest value and importance. With the underlying principles which form the basis of the Commission's recommendations, namely, the urgent necessity not only for the improvement of Indian industries, but for the more active participation of Government in developing them, I imagine there will be unanimity of opinion. I believe strongly that there is a great future before Indian industries, but it is necessary that, if the full harvest is to be reaped, the soil

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must be ploughed and the seed sown at the best time and in the best manner. It is essential that Indian industries should be guided on right lines at the early stages of their development. Few people, I imagine, will hesitate to agree that, in order to ensure such guidance, a great expansion of the scientific and technical advice at the disposal of industry in this country is essential, and the proposals of the Commission for the organisation of scientific and technical services form probably the most important part of their Report. I need hardly say that we have lost no time in considering this Report and in consulting Local Governments on the proposals made by the Commission. While I believe that the Commission's proposal for the organisation of an Imperial Department will be found essential to supply the necessary stimulus to industrial development and to afford advice and assistance where required, I fully recognise that the actual work of developing industries will have to be chiefly carried out by Provincial effort and under Provincial control. I know that this is a matter on which local opinion is keen, but I have no fear that the organisation which will be ultimately established will involve any undue centralisation. I cannot conclude my remarks on this subject without expressing my appreciation of the work of Sir Thomas Holland and his co-adjutors in producing this Report. The labour which with great public spirit they devoted to their difficult and complicated task was unstinted, and the care and thought with which they have elaborated their conclusions is beyond praise.

I do not propose to-day to review at length the field of ordinary departmental work, but there are certain points specially connected with India's war effort on which I feel

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it right to touch. Taking the material side first, I think it is still not fully appreciated how effectively India contributed to meet war requirements. To form a correct estimate, it is necessary to picture the special difficulties which arose particularly during the later phases of the great conflict. The forces in Mesopotamia, for which we were largely responsible, were fighting in a country utterly deficient of the ordinary requirements of a modern army; there were no roads, railways or mechanical transport facilities on the rivers. The country over which the troops had to move was devoid of timber, of fuel and even of ordinary stone; everything, even firewood for cooking and fodder for the horses, had consequently to be imported.

While endeavouring to meet the wants of the armies in the field, our supplying officers in India were daily confronted with the competing wants of the civil population in India, and at the same time we had to restrict to the barest necessities the import into India of manufactured goods, in order to free the energies of war workers in Allied countries. The maintenance of this delicate balance between conflicting demands imposed a heavy burden of great complexity on the responsible departments of Government.

The necessity of supplying the coal required by transports east of Suez introduced an additional complication, by leaving us with insufficient fuel to meet the requirements of essential industries and transport within India itself. The general shortage of sea freight introduced further difficulties.

The depletion of our supplies of manufactured goods, partly through unusual military consumption and partly



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by the cutting off of imports, to which I have already alluded, was naturally attended by disturbance of prices and withholding of stocks which made it difficult to obtain at short notice the necessary equipment and stores for the army.

The complex and rapidly changing conditions that followed the depredations of enemy submarines, especially during the last two years of the war, in these ways thrust a burden on India that cannot be appreciated fully in those countries where all ordinary munitions of war can be manufactured in the country itself. Habits and administrative methods which had rested on a basis of uninterrupted import had rapidly to be recast; the manufacture of substitutes had to be devised without the usual facilities of suitable machinery; iron, steel, coke and various other necessities had to be rationed, expert labour trained, and undeveloped resources turned to account.

The lessons learnt and the new industries inaugurated must now be developed and converted into permanent acquisitions. To this question Government is devoting its earnest attention.

Whilst making special endeavours to be herself less dependent on outside sources of supply, India has contributed raw materials and food-stuffs to meet the needs of the Allies generally. To England we sent over 100,000 tons of hides and to Italy about 44,000 tons with a total value of some 21 millions sterling. As a result of special efforts, a considerable fraction of these were tanned before export, and, in order to assist in turning this new development to permanent account, we engaged experts in tanning, in leather goods manufacture and tan-stuff research.

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Timber for structural works, exclusive of fuel and railway sleepers, to the extent of 200,000 tons, were sent to the armies in the Near East. Railway materials of local manufacture sufficient to construct over 1,800 miles of track and 13,000 feet of bridging were despatched, while from our own stock we spared 229 locomotives and 5,900 vehicles.

The unusual military demand for cotton clothing was entirely met by Indian Mills, whilst a large fraction of the woollen goods required were also manufactured locally from indigenous and imported Tibetan wool. Altogether 42 million articles of troops' clothing were manufactured.

On the man-power side I can also give you some interesting details covering the closing stages of the war. As a result of the Delhi Conference, India undertook in response to the Prime Minister's appeal to contribute 500,000 combatant recruits during the 12 months commencing on 1st June last.

Doubts were expressed in some quarters regarding the prospects of fulfilling the pledge, and, as the previous year had yielded only 266,000 combatants, it was clear that the most strenuous efforts would be necessary to secure the large quota promised. Although during June the number obtained was only 28,000 against 41,000 required, the succeeding months, when the full effect of the increased effort was felt, showed such gratifying results that by the 11th November, the date of the armistice, over 200,000 recruits had been obtained, and there is every reason to believe that the 300,000 required during the remaining seven months would have been forthcoming had recruiting continued.

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From the commencement of the war India has furnished 1½ million recruits, combatant and non-combatant—a most creditable achievement.

Demobilisation of the Indian Army has commenced, but cannot become general until peace has been declared. Up to date approximately 50,000 Indian troops have been demobilised and allowed to return to their homes.

The Recruiting Board as such has now ceased to exist, and its place has been taken by the Indian Soldiers' Board presided over by my Colleague Sir George Lowndes. It is felt that a debt of honour is due to those who have ventured, and in thousands of cases lost life and limb in the service of the Empire and of India, and that prompt and comprehensive action should be taken to discharge that debt. Accordingly the new Board has been formed. It will deal with questions affecting the interests of Indian soldiers and non-combatants serving, discharged or deceased, and will more especially consider questions connected with land rewards or other grants for distinguished service, the after-care of the wounded and incapacitated, educational concessions for children and the safeguarding of the general interests of soldiers by means of provincial and district committees who will especially watch the interests of soldiers absent from their homes.

In this connection Hon'ble Members will be interested to hear that we have taken up with Local Governments the question of the education of children, both boys and girls, of all men of whatever rank, whether combatants or non-combatants, who since the 4th of August 1914 have died

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while on active service or become permanently incapacitated owing to wounds or disease contracted while on the active list. It is proposed that such children should receive free primary education, together with a small allowance to cover incidental expenses, scholarships to carry them on to middle schools and, we hope, some reserve scholarships for still higher education. The women in India have contributed a substantial sum to be presented to Her Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress as a Silver Wedding Gift, and it is Her Majesty's desire that this should be used for a similar purpose, supplementing the efforts of Government by providing higher education and alleviating cases which cannot well be brought within ordinary rules.

I must also refer in passing to the efforts which Government has made during the last six months to secure through our Publicity Boards the diffusion of correct information about the war. In these efforts, we have been ably seconded by the Press of India, to whose hearty co-operation our success is largely due. I may refer particularly to the work in the United Provinces and in the Punjab. Both the United Provinces *War Journal*, and the *Haq*, the organ of the Punjab Publicity Committee, have disseminated war information far and wide, and have created in the minds of thousands of our peasant-folk an interest in the larger world outside the circle of the village. Thus besides the service which has been performed by the Publicity Campaign, in assisting the people of India to form a right idea of the issues of the war, in helping forward the last War Loan, and in supplying a great stimulus to recruiting, its educative effects are such as can hardly fail to be of the utmost importance both now and in the future.

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No difficulties could compare with those imposed upon us by the war, but our release from their strain has unhappily coincided with a period of new anxieties.

At the very moment when Great Britain and her Allies were bringing the great war to a victorious close, there suddenly fell upon the world a new calamity, the extent of which has hardly yet been measured or realised. I mean the so-called influenza which has just swept over the greater part of the globe and in an incredibly brief space of time has carried off some millions of lives. The medical authorities did not spare themselves in coping with this fell disease. But whether in India or in other countries possessed of more perfect medical organisations, the very suddenness of the onslaught, the novelty of the symptoms and the fact that doctors were frequently laid low while battling with the scourge produced a condition of helplessness and disorganisation. All thanks are due to the unselfish efforts made by public and private bodies during this terrible time. The medical authorities in India have made haste to investigate the disease and so far as is possible to make ready by the preparation of vaccines, etc., against such another visitation. An officer has been placed on special duty in connection with the investigation. Those who complain of the apparent unsuccess of attempts to cope with this disaster, must remember that India alone has not been afflicted, that the greatest medical authorities throughout the world have been concentrating their attention on this matter, and that it is beyond human skill to find instant remedies in such a case. Two lessons we may learn if indeed they have not already been sufficiently impressed upon us by the ravages of plague and other diseases. The defects of sanitation in

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India are fully recognised and in June last we addressed Local Governments on this subject, and especially on the necessity for sanitary organisation in rural tracts, and we placed before them the recommendations made by an informal conference of Sanitary Commissioners which had been held here. In the second place, it is incumbent on us to increase our facilities for research. The medical services in India have a proud record in this respect, a record which should encourage us and give us confidence in making a bold advance in the establishment of research institutes to investigate those ailments which are particularly prevalent in India.

Our other grave anxiety has been on the score of the unusual drought. Widespread scarcity has resulted, and a general rise of prices which presses very heavily on the poorer classes. The position has, I am glad to say, been favourably affected by the recent rainfall. As the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill is going to make a statement covering the whole ground and setting forth the measures that have been taken to relieve the situation, I will not take up more of your time with this subject now, but before leaving it I should like to express my appreciation of the good work which Mr. Gubbay has done in discharging the duties of Food Controller.

There is a matter of special and grave concern to the European community which is exercising me and my Government at the present time and on which I feel I ought to touch. I refer to the difficulties in the way of securing passages home and to the exorbitant rates charged. All I can now say is that from the time the Armistice was signed, we have been in constant communication with the Home authorities, urging in the most emphatic manner the claims to consideration

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of Europeans resident in this country, and that we shall not rest satisfied till we have secured amelioration in existing conditions.

You will expect me now to say something in regard to the Reform proposals. The Committees under the chairmanship of Lord Southborough are now sitting in Delhi, and hope in conjunction with the Government of India to lay their report shortly before His Majesty's Government. I have dealt on other occasions with various aspects of this important question. To-day I wish to deal more particularly with the position of the services and the English commercial community.

It is indeed natural that the services should feel keen anxiety as to their place in the future scheme of things. The Secretary of State and I could not within the compass of our report elaborate in full detail all the issues arising out of our proposals for Reform, but now that the criticisms and discussions of the past months have brought home to us something of the misgivings and anxieties which our services are feeling, I propose to take this opportunity of stating as clearly as I can what my conception of their future position is.

And first let me say this. The services of India have just come through a long period of exceptional strain. Their strength has been seriously depleted by the war. They have been called upon not merely to run the administration with a far weaker staff; not merely to help to steady men's minds during periods of depression and alarm; but they have also had to organise and promote many forms of war activity. It has been out of the question to let them take

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leave, and so they have stayed at their posts year after year doing double work, often to the detriment of their health and commonly at the sacrifice of domestic comfort. They have been hard hit by rising prices ; and they have come in for attacks arising out of the agitation in connection with Reforms which have sometimes been ungenerous and unfair. But they have risen superior to all these things, and as Viceroy I am proud and glad to acknowledge on behalf of my Government the part they have played in keeping India contented and quiet, and in helping to win the war. And now the war is over, and they seem to see before them difficulties and sacrifices greater still. I want the services to know that my Government and I are fully cognisant and deeply appreciative of all these things.

Let me state then, as clearly as I can, what I conceive to be the governing conditions of this problem. The changes which we are setting about in India must gradually involve a profound alteration in the position of the public services. Hitherto the great administrative and technical bodies of men recruited from England—such as the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police, the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Education Service, the Indian Forest Service, the Public Works Department—have not been civil services in the sense in which that word is generally understood. I have indeed seen criticisms which assumed that our public services had usurped to themselves a place which Parliament never assigned to them. That, as every reader of history knows, is a wholly wrong and unfair suggestion. The services were sent to India by Parliament not as the executive agents of a popular government in India, but to administer the country under the official Government of India. No



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one else could have done the work which they have done. They could not have done it themselves, had their position been different. Now with the introduction of responsible government in India, however limited at first, a change must begin. If we set up ministers, ministers must administer; and the permanent services must execute. That is so well accepted a maxim of our British polity that no one will dispute it. This then is my first proposition.

But to suppose, as has been alleged, that we propose to place the services as a whole in helpless subordination to inexperienced and possibly hostile ministers; that we intend not merely to deprive them of power, but to require them blindly to execute policies which they cannot reconcile with their self-respect is very seriously to misconceive our purpose. Let me explain at once why that is impossible. Progress to further constitutional growth in India is to come not by a process of drift; not by the English Departments or Governments throwing up the sponge out of weariness or a sense that they are fighting a losing game; not by our taking back our hand from the plough; but by the response made by Indians to the great opportunity now offered them—by the measured verdict of the highest outside impartial authority upon their performance. It is recognised at the present moment that the time is not ripe for Indians to take over the entire management of the country. Every moderate and thoughtful Indian admits that truth himself. And government, believe me, is not the simple thing it may sometimes seem. The help of the services, trained, efficient, impartial, with their high standards of duty, of character, of the public interest, is absolutely essential if this vast experiment is to succeed. We cannot afford and we do not mean to lose

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them until India acquires, what she has not got at present, something approximately as good to put in their place. That is my second proposition.

The Secretary of State and I have declared our intention to protect the services in the defence of their rights and the discharge of their duties. I see that apprehensions have been aroused by the general character of this phraseology. Let me now, speaking for myself and my Government, endeavour to give precision to the undertaking. In the first place, as regards their pay and pensions. I propose that the pay, pensions, leave and conditions of service generally of the services recruited from England shall be guaranteed at least by statutory orders of the Secretary of State, which no authority in India will have power to disregard or vary. My idea is that the all-India services are to be retained, as in a mould cast by Parliament and the Secretary of State, as an exemplar to all the services drawn exclusively from India. In this respect therefore I see no cause for disquiet.

I pass to a more difficult question, and one which I know is causing more doubt than any mere questions of money—the position of the services who are under Indian ministers. Now I am not going to recite the series of ways in which I conceive it possible that difficulty may arise. I ask you to take it from me that my Government and I have considered this field very anxiously and have had vividly before our minds the sort of troubles that may arise over postings or promotion, or policy or professional questions or discipline. How then can these potential difficulties be mitigated? In the first place, we hope to get as ministers responsible

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men who will realise how greatly the services can help them. There is more in this than a pious hope. We may look to what has happened elsewhere. It has often been the case that men going in fresh to office full of prejudice against the public services have found them their best ally and protector against the critics which every administrator encounters, and have ended by gaining the full confidence of the service and giving the service theirs. Secondly, we do not intend to leave the handling of the services wholly to the minister. We propose to instruct the Governor, in a published instrument, that we lay on him a personal responsibility for securing the welfare of the services. He will disallow proposals that aim or tend towards their disintegration. The head of every department under ministers will have access to the Governor. He will be in a position to represent difficulties to him before they become acute: and it will be for the Governor to deal with them by influence and persuasion and finally by tactful exercise of authority. Lastly, we propose to secure all existing rights of appeal to the Government of India and the Secretary of State whenever an officer is prejudicially affected as regards emoluments or pension by a minister's order.

How these arrangements will work, you and I can only leave it to experience to show. But I think that the services will accept them as an earnest attempt to fulfil the pledges which we have given. It may be that even more provisions will be required. But about those I will say nothing at present, because I am anxious to give no countenance to the idea that the services will find their position made impossible. I will merely add that the Government of India will always regard this question of the fair treatment of the services as

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one of the cardinal tests by which our great experiment will be judged.

Let me now turn to the very important matter of British commercial interests in this country. It would distress me profoundly if I thought that we could with justice be accused of underrating either the colossal financial interests at stake, or the enormous part which British non-official energy, character and brains have played in the task of making India what she is. For myself I regarded these facts as self-evident and thought that, so far as it was necessary to reassure this important community, we had in our Report made our attitude towards them quite clear. However the complaint has been made that we have dealt too summarily with the subject. So let me emphasise our intentions. I have not found by the way in the papers of a year ago or the criticisms just received, any reasoned statement of the ways in which it is supposed that British trade interests may be jeopardised by the changes which we have in view. I note however that in the joint address which some representatives of European commerce in Calcutta signed last year reference was made to the risk of injury by "predatory or regulative legislation" or the neglect of transportation and other facilities; and I see that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce appear to have chiefly in mind proposals for provincial taxation likely to prejudice commerce or industry.

Now let me explain the position as I see it. The legislation on which British commerce in the main depends is mainly all-India in character. Some of it is embodied in the great commercial codes; some of it deals with matters of peculiar interest to industry like railways, factories, petroleum,

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explosives or mines. Now inasmuch as these will remain with the Government of India, who will, as I have laid down more than once, retain indisputable authority, there is surely no reasonable ground for apprehension. Commerce can make its voice heard just as effectively as heretofore. It may be said however that, in the future, Provincial Councils will exercise more freely the power of amending all-India Acts. But that they can only do with the previous sanction of the Governor-General. In any case there is the safeguard of the triple veto of the Governor, the Governor-General, and the Crown ; and this applies to all provincial legislation.

It seems to me indeed that the control of the matters of peculiar interest to European commerce is to a great extent concentrated in the hands of the Government of India. I am thinking of the tariff and the currency ; of banking, railways, shipping, posts and telegraphs. In these respects no existing measure of security is being diminished and therefore apprehension is surely groundless.

But evidently it is in the minds of some people that in the provincial sphere it will be possible injuriously to affect the commercial community. Say, for instance, by special interests being singled out to bear the burden of provincial taxation or by rival interests being artificially stimulated by bounties. What protection will there be in such cases ? Well, the Secretary of State and I have pledged ourselves in paragraph 344 to reserve to Government power to protect any industry from prejudiced attack or privileged competition. To speak for myself, I believe this can be secured by embodying this undertaking in the instrument of instructions given to the Governor on appointment, wherein he

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will be informed that His Majesty's Government lay on him a responsibility for seeing that the pledge is made good. With such a public document in his hands the Governor with the Government of India and Secretary of State behind him would be in a very strong position to resist all proposals of his ministers which appeared to him to be acts of hostility to British commerce. There will moreover be representatives of that interest sitting in the provincial chamber; and I cannot do them the injustice of supposing that they will fail to bring any just grievance effectively to the Governor's notice or if need be to remind him of his responsibility.

Now, gentlemen, I shall not detain you much longer. The conditions under which we meet to-day are very different from those to which we have been accustomed during the past four years, for the hopes of victory—deferred, nay, long deferred—have now been abundantly realised, and to-day we can hold high our heads feeling, I trust, each one of us in his own way, that we have shared in the great fight for justice and truth, and that we are proud citizens of a powerful and victorious Empire.

For those who seek for proof of what the British Empire has done in this great and fateful chapter of the world's history, is not the tribute of Marshal Foch sufficient?

“The hammer blows of the British Armies were the decisive factors in the final crushing defeat of the enemy.”

Again, is not the humiliating surrender in British waters of the German Navy a powerful—indeed almost incredible—testimony of what had gone before, of what British valour and endurance had achieved by unrelenting effort on the sea?

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On India's part in the Empire's achievement I have dwelt time and again. There is no need to tell over again what all the world knows—how India's loyalty enabled us at once to send our troops far from India's shores ; how India's effort increased and developed till the supply of men, material and munitions reached a figure worthy of the stake which India had in the war ; and how in the last critical stages Indian troops played a decisive part in the glorious victories won in the Eastern campaign under General Allenby.

There are supreme moments in the life of communities as well as of men when all that is petty and sordid sinks into insignificance, when differences and animosities fade in the light of some deep emotion and we see revealed the feelings that lie deep and the things that matter. Such a moment, I think, came to us here in India when the news was celebrated throughout the length and breadth of the land that the Empire had come through its long ordeal by battle, still standing four square, its purpose unimpaired, its credit untarnished, its citizens still free. The victory of the Sarkar was every man's victory. We met upon a common platform of rejoicing and there was revealed to us a deep and essential comradeship which in commonplace times of domestic stress and difficulty I trust we shall not forget.

Who will say that there were not days during that long struggle when the outlook was dark and threatening and we knew that it was only the dogged tenacity of the British character which stood between the civilised world and the domination of brute force ? The German High Command could point with arrogance to their much-boasted war map,

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but they had no chart of British character. There was a moral situation not susceptible of German appreciation. And to that great reserve of moral strength which made our Empire invincible, India contributed her full measure.

It would be idle to suppose that our victory, complete and overwhelming as it is, carries us straight into a peaceful harbour of ease and content. The tempest which threatened us has abated, but the troubled sea is still a danger to all but the stoutest craft. The nations who have won the war are called upon to display qualities as fine as those which carried them through those long years to final victory. We have shown courage and tenacity in war: we must show sanity and sobriety in peace.

The difficulties engendered by the war will heavily tax our patience for many months to come. Trade, supplies, prices, wages, currency, labour, transport—wherever we turn in the domestic field—there are hardships which must still be borne, difficulties which must still be overcome. In attempting to solve these problems our hands are tied in every direction and on behalf of my Government I must ask for still more of that same patience which has been so liberally extended to us during the war.

In the difficult days that lie ahead the established forces of law and order—the forces to which the people are from childhood accustomed—need all the support that comes from the co-operation of the great body of sober-minded citizens.

Do not let it be supposed for one moment that I fear that this country lies in any danger of falling a victim to those disruptive forces best suggested by the name Bolshevism



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The poison of that doctrine flows from failure, and I am convinced that those nations who have drunk the tonic of success with the consciousness of duty done are immune from its virus.

Nor would I have you suppose that I have anxieties in regard to the Indian masses, for each year I have spent here has strengthened my confidence in the solid good sense of India as a whole. The bulk of the Indian masses may live their lives remote from affairs, lacking in education, still wanting in most of the paraphernalia of progress. They may perhaps in some sense be voiceless masses. But the good sense of India springs from a deep political instinct, from lessons learnt in a harsh school perhaps, learnt in ill-rewarded toil, in pestilence and famine and under the drums and trappings of many a stern conqueror, but still learnt and not to be easily unlearned. In that instinct lies a solid foundation for our public life. There lies our ultimate source of strength. The good sense of India has been tried in this great war as never before and it has not been found wanting. The test, as I have said, is not yet over; but, speaking for myself, I look forward confidently to the days ahead, fully assured that, when the dust of these days has subsided, a greater India will emerge—greater in resources, greater in self-help, great as ever in her loyalty to the King-Emperor.

## STATE BANQUET AT KAPURTHALA.

15th February 1919. [His Excellency the Viceroy paid a brief official visit to Kapurthala in the middle of February. On the night of the 15th His Highness the Maharaja gave a State Banquet in honour of the

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Viceroy's visit, and in proposing the toast of His Excellency's health said :—]

*Your Excellency and Gentlemen*,—A visit of the August Representative of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor to an Indian State is always a mark of signal honour and a source of genuine pleasure for its Ruler and his people, but the honour and the pleasure are invested with an added glow when that Representative happens to be a statesman who has ever since the assumption of his exalted office sought to advance the best interests of the Order to which it is my good fortune to belong and to weld closer the bonds that link its members and their States to the Paramount Power. Such a Representative is the distinguished nobleman in whose safe-keeping the destinies of the great Empire of India are at the present moment fittingly reposed and whom it is my proud privilege to entertain to-night. The free personal exchange of views between the Ruling Princes and the high dignitaries of the Government of India on matters of vital import to the States or of joint concern rendered possible by the annual Conferences at Delhi, the admission of the Princes into the innermost Councils of the Empire and, last but not least, the clear and full recognition, in the Indian Reforms Report, of their pre-eminent position in the body-politic of India and the meticulous regard shown therein for their rights, prerogatives and prestige are measures which have won for His Excellency Lord Chelmsford the sincere gratitude of us all and will constitute a lasting monument of his far-seeing constructive statesmanship.

We are all aware that His Excellency succeeded to the helm of affairs in this country at a most critical epoch in the history of our world-wide Empire. How His Excellency steered the ship of State through those momentous and anxious times, with what remarkable success India's vast man-power and material resources were exploited for the service of the common cause and to what a high pinnacle the fair name of this ancient land has, in consequence, been lifted are facts too patent to need any emphasis or elaboration from me. Suffice it to say that the Viceregal mantle has never fallen on more worthy shoulders.

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Your Excellency, it is scarcely necessary for me to refer to the loyalty and devotion which my House and State have uniformly and unswervingly demonstrated towards the Person, Throne and Government of our beloved King-Emperor. To this the records of the Indian Mutiny, the Second Sikh War, the Afghan Wars of 1877-78, and the Tirah Campaign of 1897 bear sufficiently eloquent testimony. But I am naturally reluctant to let this opportunity pass without giving expression to the deep satisfaction I experience in reflecting on the part, humble though it be, that this State has been privileged to play in the War that has only recently been brought to a triumphant conclusion. *Vis-à-vis* the colossal efforts of our Empire my share in assisting towards the overthrow of the bogey of militarism is, doubtless, like a drop in the ocean. None the less, I am proud to feel that in the Empire's hour of need my State and I have grudged no sacrifice or endeavour towards the furtherance of the glorious end which has been so brilliantly achieved at last. Your Excellency's distinguished predecessor standing in this very room over five years ago, months before the unsuspecting world received a rude awakening at the hands of the then masters of Germany, in complimenting my Imperial Service Troops on their efficiency almost prophetically observed "I am confident that, were the need to arise again for their services in the field, they would acquit themselves worthily and bring fresh honour to their State and to their Ruler." I rejoice that those words have, by the grace of the Almighty, come true and so quickly. Directly on the outbreak of the War I hastened to place the regiment at the disposal of the Imperial Government. It was 600 strong then and by the time the unit returned home after 3½ years' employment on active service in East Africa, its total strength had risen to nearly 1,200. In response to the stirring appeal of the Prime Minister in May last I had the honour, as Your Excellency will recollect, to offer to raise the number to 1,600. The manner in which my troops acquitted themselves in the field is known to no one better than Your Excellency, but for me it is sufficient to realise that they were permitted to participate in the operations against the foes of our Empire, and that in one theatre of war at least they were able to help in breaking for ever the much-vaunted might of Germany. It

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was my fond desire, wholly shared, I believe, by the officers and men themselves, that it may fall to their lot to take part in the splendid victories that were obtained by our Armies on other fronts. Indeed the unit was thoroughly re-fitted and placed in a state of readiness to proceed to Mesopotamia when the sudden débâcle of Germany and her Allies terminated hostilities early in November last. I do not wish to weary my audience with the details of the other activities of my State in connection with the War. But I would like to mention how delighted I am that it has been possible for us to help the Indian Army by the supply of nearly 4,000 recruits and, despite our heavy military commitments, to contribute nearly 12 lakhs to the various War Loans and over three lakhs towards the extraordinary expenses of the War. However intensely gratifying all this is to me and to my State it now belongs to the past. As to the future, while devoutly hoping that the world will never again witness a repetition of the sanguinary struggle of the past four years and that universal peace may reign for ever, I can confidently assure Your Excellency that should an emergency arise, my State, inspired by its time-honoured traditions, will not fail to rise to the occasion and afford a fresh proof, if indeed such were needed, of the abiding attachment that perpetually binds it and its Ruler to the Imperial House of Windsor and the Empire.

Your Excellency, as regards the internal condition of my State I would not say much. I have been exercising full powers of administration for more than 28 years, and during this long period I have always essayed to forward the moral, social and material welfare of my people, whose affection and contentment I regard as an adequate recompense for my labours. Educational and Medical institutions have been provided at convenient centres. Municipalities and Local Boards partly elected and partly nominated administer civic and rural affairs, respectively. Free Primary education has been introduced and compulsory education is being given a trial in selected areas. Neither has Female education been neglected. The capital enjoys the benefits of drainage and water-works schemes completed on scientific lines at a considerable cost. The income of the State has risen from 20 lakhs in 1888 to 35 lakhs. I am fostering with

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particular care the system of Agricultural Co-operative Credit. Agricultural societies number 200 now. With a view to bringing the latest scientific methods of agriculture within easy reach of my people I have recently created a Department of Agriculture and Industries and have placed it under the control of an expert officer, whose services have so kindly been lent to me by Your Excellency's Government.

Your Excellency, this outline of some of the broad features of my administration will, I hope, convince you of the fact that this State has been making a conscientious effort to respond to the spirit of the times.

Gentlemen, I am sure you will echo my deep regret that Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford, who has so thoroughly endeared herself to all and sundry by her broad-minded sympathy with the cause of Indian womanhood and by her numerous other acts of charity and benevolence, is not here to grace the occasion by her presence. But the regret is tempered by the hope that Her Excellency is enjoying her brief stay at home, and that she will soon be back in our midst to resume the noble tasks she has been pleased to take upon herself.

Now, gentlemen, I call on you to unite with me in drinking to the very best health, long life and prosperity of His Excellency the Viceroy, my distinguished and honoured guest.

[The Viceroy made the following reply :—]

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—First let me thank Your Highness for the extremely kind words in which you have proposed my health and expressed regret at the unavoidable absence of Lady Chelmsford. I appreciate greatly the warmth of the welcome which I have received during this my first visit to the Kapurthala State, and I shall not easily forget the hospitality of its enlightened Ruler.

Your Highness has alluded to the war record of the Kapurthala Imperial Service Troops—a record of which any

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State might well be proud. The quality of Your Highness' troops is shown by the long list of distinctions gained by the officers and men of the Kapurthala Infantry during 3½ years of arduous campaigning in unhealthy surroundings and a particularly difficult country against a determined and elusive enemy. The Regiment was complimented for its excellent work by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, East African Expeditionary Force, and several of its officers received various distinctions. Major-General Sardar Pooran Singh was awarded a C.I.E., Colonel Nihal Singh, the Officer Commanding the Regiment, received the 2nd Class of the Order of British India, and one Indian Distinguished Medal, ten Meritorious Service Medals and one French Médaille Militaire were won by various non-commissioned officers and men. Not only has the Kapurthala Infantry distinguished itself in the manner I have described, but the State has supplied the large number of 4,000 recruits for the ranks of the Indian Army at considerable cost. But man-power has not been the only direction in which Kapurthala had helped towards the defeat of the enemies of the British Empire. Your Highness has caused nearly 12 lakhs to be invested in various war loans—English, Indian and French, and cash contributions have been made on a considerable scale to various charitable and other funds connected with the prosecution of the war.

In recognition of the services rendered by the Kapurthala State Your Highness' salute was raised to 13 guns, and the share taken by Your Highness in the results achieved was recognised by the grant of a personal salute of 15 guns and of the rank of Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army. Your Highness' third son, Captain Kanwar Amarjit Singh,

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also worthily upheld the military traditions of the Kapurthala House by serving in France with the 3rd (Lahore) Division, and in recognition of his services received the Honorary rank of Captain in the Army, while Khan Bahadur Sardar Abdul Hamid, Your Highness' capable Chief Secretary, was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire for his meritorious services in connection with the war.

Lord Hardinge, during his visit to Kapurthala in 1913, remarked in terms of appreciation on the able manner in which the administration of the State was conducted and dwelt on the success of Your Highness' efforts in this direction as worthy of all praise. I am glad to learn that the State continues to enjoy the benefits of Your Highness' wise and progressive rule, that the system of administration has earned the gratitude and contentment of your people, and that the finances of the State are in a flourishing and prosperous condition.

Your Highness has recently given one more proof, though none was needed, of the loyalty of the Kapurthala State to the British Government. During the recent troublous times through which the Punjab passed as a result of the influx of seditious agitators and returned emigrants the State co-operated whole-heartedly with the Punjab Government in its efforts to extirpate crime and to bring the guilty to justice. The movements of such of these persons as entered the State were kept under careful surveillance, and the efficiency of State Police was demonstrated by the success which was achieved.

The success of Your Highness' policy in utilising local talent in the service of the State has been justified by the

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*Opening of the Jubilee Hall, Kapurthala.*

results attained. I learn with satisfaction that, except for a few technical officers, all the officials of the State belong to local families, and that many of them have been educated in Europe at the expense of the State. The Heir-apparent devotes himself generally to the service of the State, while Your Highness' second son has been a judicial officer, and your third son is now Director of Police and Education.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I need say no more to demonstrate the admirable results of the sagacious and far-sighted policy adopted by His Highness in all branches of the administration of his State. I ask you now to drink to the health of our distinguished host, His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala, and to the continued prosperity of the Kapurthala State.

#### OPENING OF THE JUBILEE HALL, KAPURTHALA.

[His Excellency the Viceroy performed the ceremony of opening the Jubilee Hall at Kapurthala on the 16th February. His Highness the Maharaja read the following address :—] 16th February 1919.

*Your Excellency*,—This Hall, which Your Excellency has been pleased to consent to open formally this morning and the foundation stone of which was laid by me in 1916, is designed to house the Public Assembly of the State. On the occasion of the celebration of the Jubilee of my rule in 1916, I announced my intention to create an institution that would provide a medium for a closer association of my people with the administration. Accordingly, the Assembly partly elected and partly nominated came into being shortly afterwards and has been in session on three occasions. Although new to its task, its deliberations have left no doubt in my mind as to its utility. The Assembly is for the present an advisory and consultative body, but



*Landholders' Deputation to the Viceroy.*

in course of time and as the political training of its members develops, I shall not hesitate to widen the scope of its usefulness on proper and sound lines.

With these few words I request Your Excellency to be good enough to open the Jubilee Hall.

[In declaring the Hall open His Excellency said:—]

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—It is a source of genuine pleasure to me that Your Highness has asked me to open this fine building to-day, and more especially in view of the fact that it is intended to commemorate the close of a period which has been so fruitful of happy results as the first 25 years of Your Highness' rule in Kapurthala. The purposes to which Your Highness has dedicated this building are an indication of the wisdom which has characterised your rule, for no Prince can afford to ignore the popular tendencies of the day.

I now declare the Jubilee Hall open and express the hope that the celebrations which will take place within its walls will confer lasting benefit on the people of Kapurthala.

## LANDHOLDERS' DEPUTATION TO THE VICEROY.

11th March 1919. His Excellency the Viceroy received on the 11th March a deputation of the All-India Landholders' Association headed by the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who read the address.

[In replying His Excellency said:—]

It is with great pleasure that I welcome this opportunity of meeting representatives of the landholders of India for the first time since your Association took definite shape. There have, of course, been Provincial Associations of the same kind for some years, but as you have mentioned in your address the idea of combining all these into a body

*Landholders' Deputation to the Viceroy.*

representing the whole country, with definite aims before it and clear rules of procedure as to the best means of attaining those aims, has only very recently taken concrete form. It must be very gratifying to those who have worked so hard for this end to see present here to-day representatives from almost every province in India.

The objects of the Association as laid down in your rules, and as again stated in your address, may be briefly summarised as help to the Government, help to the members of your own order and the help and advancement of the tenantry entrusted to your charge. These three objects are necessarily closely connected one with the other. The help that has been rendered by the landholding classes during the struggle of the last four years has been acknowledged many times and needs no words of mine to emphasise it. Now, as in the days of the Roman Empire, it has been the *rusticorum mascula militum proles*, the hardy race of yeomen, headed and encouraged by their natural leaders, who have formed the backbone of the Indian Army.

The methods by which the other two great objects of your Society may best be attained were stated with great clearness by the Maharaja of Darbhanga in his Presidential address at your meeting in January last year. Times are changing throughout the world, and it is necessary that we should all change with them. But such change should not mean a complete break with the past, but rather an adaptation of all that is best in the past to the altered circumstances and ideas of the present. It is here, gentlemen, that a great opportunity lies before you as the natural leaders of the class which forms the bulk of the population of the country, to take your place as directors of the movement,

*Last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi.*

and to see to it that change does not degenerate into unrest and discontent. How such an object can best be ensured has been indicated in broad lines by the Maharaja of Darbhanga in the speech that I have referred to above—"to see that our children receive proper and suitable education according to our means and the needs and requirements, to take an ever-widening and intelligent interest in matters pertaining to the urban and rural affairs of their districts, in addition to taking their proper share in larger Imperial and Provincial matters, to act as a link between the authorities and the middle-classes and the people"; and finally to remember "our duty to the tenantry, in whose contentment is our wealth."

I come now to the request made in your address that your Association should be recognised, and when necessary consulted, by the various Departments of my Government. I understand that orders have already been passed that in cases where public opinion is invited on any measure the All-India Landholders' Association should be consulted if the matter is one in which it is likely to be interested; and you can rest assured that any suggestions made by your Society will always receive a sympathetic hearing from my Government.

LAST MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL  
AT DELHI.

21st March 1919. [The last meeting of the (Delhi) session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on the 21st March. His Excellency the Viceroy presided and in closing the session said :—]

It now only remains for me to close the session and wish Hon'ble Members good-bye.

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*Last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi.*

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We have had a strenuous session and a controversial session, but throughout our debates have been marked by good temper, and on matters with regard to which agreement has been impossible there has been an agreement to differ.

We have had on one occasion to sit after midnight in order to get our work done. This experience has given Hon'ble Members a foretaste of what is in store for them with larger Legislative Councils and a greater number of keen debates.

Work has to be got through and it is not, I think, a rash prophecy that the hours of debate will in the future be longer and therefore necessarily later.

I now come to what are popularly known as the Rowlatt Bills. In my opening speech, after referring to the undoubted existence of definitely revolutionary organisations, I said—  
“There are facts which can neither be denied nor explained away, and the Government of India would be failing in its duty if it did not make preparations to deal with them.”  
I went on to say that after the most anxious consideration of the subject I had come to the very clear conclusion that special measures were essential not only to the maintenance of His Majesty's Government in this country, but to the safety of the lives and property of its citizens. These special measures have now passed through this Council, and on Tuesday last during the final debate I was asked to withhold my assent to the Bill. In other words I was in my position as Viceroy to withhold my assent to measures which in my capacity as Governor-General I had regarded as essential not only to the maintenance of His Majesty's Government in this country, but to the safety of the lives and property

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*Last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi.*

of its citizens. I think Hon'ble Members will see what an impossible position they would have me take up.

Gentlemen, certain pledges have been given by the Home Member. Those pledges I accept. And let me repudiate the idea that this Bill is a slur on India's good name. It is nothing of the sort. The Rowlatt Committee were at pains to point out that it was a small section of the community which was affected ; speakers on the Government side have time and again repeated the same, and for myself I repudiate the idea that this Bill affects any but the smallest fraction of the population, and that only in the interests of the safety of the lives and property of the remainder.

I have every hope that its mere existence in the Statute book will be sufficient, and that, when the three years for which it has been enacted have passed away, it will be found that the crime against which the Act is aimed has passed away also.

I can assure Hon'ble Members that it was with the very deepest regret that we found ourselves in this matter at variance with the views of our non-official Indian friends, and it was only because we were convinced of the imperative necessity of passing such a measure that we felt constrained to introduce and pass it.

In the matter of Reforms the Southborough Committees have made their reports which should in the course of the next few days be in the hands of His Majesty's Government.

We, as the Government of India, have forwarded to the Secretary of State all the various criticisms which have been

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passed on the Reforms Scheme by Local Governments and others along with our own views upon such criticisms, and we are grappling with all the various points which will have to be dealt with in any legislation to carry out the Reforms policy. It will then only remain for His Majesty's Government and Parliament to decide the exact form in which effect shall be given to the announcement of August 20th.

Before Hon'ble Members separate to-day I should like them to do—what it is not perhaps very easy for them to do—to obliterate for a moment from their minds all thoughts of the domestic business, the processes of agreement and disagreement which have occupied us so fully this session and to cast their minds back to the 21st of March last year.

A year ago to-day Germany initiated her stupendous offensive on the Western front. Its weight and momentum were such that we all knew instinctively that for our Empire and its Allies the hour of destiny had sounded, and the appeal went forth to every man—yes, and to every woman—to help with such power as in them lay to strengthen and sustain our threatened lines of defence.

You will remember that in India I summoned to this Chamber the leaders of the people, that India again responded generously and whole-heartedly to the Empire's appeal and rose to the height of her opportunity. That fateful chapter of the war which opened with such grave menace closed in glory. It proved to be the last chapter, and India to-day can proudly claim her full part and lot in the Empire's triumph.

India now stands on the threshold of a new dispensation. There will be difficulties, differences and disagreements, such

*Banquet at Baroda.*

as are inherent in all processes of political development. But I hope the spirit of friendship and co-operation which brought us together here at that supreme crisis will continue to exercise its influence over our public life. There is a glamour and an inspiration in the memories I have touched upon which mere domestic differences will, I feel sure, be powerless to destroy. It was brought home to us last year that we were all members one of another. Let us then part to-day feeling the truth of the old Latin saying "*Amantium iræ amoris reintegratio*" "The falling out of faithful friends renewing is of love."

## BANQUET AT BARODA.

24th March 1919. [The Viceroy, accompanied by his Staff, paid an official visit to Baroda in the course of his Spring Tour. A banquet was given on the night of the 24th March in honour of His Excellency's visit. In proposing the health of the Viceroy His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda said:—]

*Ladies and Gentlemen*,—I rise now to perform the most pleasant duty of proposing the health of my illustrious guest, His Excellency the Viceroy.

It is a very real pleasure to me that His Excellency has been able to find time—I am sure we all wish that it had been longer—to visit me here in my Capital, and, Your Excellency, I beg you to be sure that, in saying this, I am using the language, not of mere formal courtesy, but of true sincerity.

I have a lively memory of many pleasant hours spent in Your Excellency's hospitable home, and I rejoice to have this opportunity of receiving you as my honoured guest.

Her Highness and I feel a sense of genuine regret that Her Excellency is not with us to-day, but the fact that she is enjoying a well-earned rest and change, after so many trying years of work, reconciles us

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*Banquet at Baroda.*

to her absence. We hope that Her Excellency will return greatly benefited by the change, and that we may have an opportunity of welcoming her here in the future.

Now that the war, in which the indissoluble nature of the ties which link the States of India to the British Empire has been so strikingly manifested, has ended in such signal success, we are confronted by political and social problems, the unravelment of which will present many difficulties, and will call for the exercise of the highest statesmanship. It is indeed fortunate that, at this juncture, India should have at the helm one who has made a life-long study of such questions, and, in particular, of the great problem of education—than which there is none nearer to my heart, and none, if I am permitted to express the opinion, more important to the present and future welfare of India. By education, I mean the adequate training of the masses as well as of the classes. I mean not merely the flooding of the land with schoolmasters, but rather the evolution of a system of instruction which will bring out the vast good which is in the people, and shall strengthen them bodily, mentally, and spiritually. Other important problems before us are the expansion of industrial effort and the establishment of a suitable and widespread system of Local Self-Government. These, too, are subjects of which Your Excellency has made a special study, and I look with confidence to a future when Your Excellency's wisdom, experience, patience, and foresight will pilot the Indian ship of State safely through all difficulties to the calm waters of social, political, and material progress.

I must not detain you longer. I trust that you, Your Excellency, will always have kindly feelings towards Baroda; and, I assure you, that I, on my part, my House and my State, will ever do all that is in our power to maintain the friendly relations which have existed between Your Excellency's Government and ourselves from immemorial times.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the long life, health, and prosperity of His Excellency the Viceroy.

[ His Excellency in reply said :— ]

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—At the outset I must thank Your Highness for your very friendly greeting



*Banquet at Baroda.*

and for the terms in which you have referred to Lady Chelmsford, who, if circumstances had allowed, would have greatly enjoyed visiting with me the Capital of your State.

Next I must express my deep regret at the affliction which the failure of last year's rains has brought to so many of Your Highness' subjects. May I, through Your Highness, offer them my sincere sympathy in their misfortunes? By liberal provision for relief of every kind Your Highness has evidenced the deep solicitude which you feel for their welfare.

Your Highness has referred to the political and social problems which confront us at the present moment in India. We, in British India, may learn a good deal from observation of what has been done in the Indian States in the way of testing and proving new paths of advance. Baroda has been fortunate in having for the past forty-three years a Ruler who has devoted so much care and thought to the promotion of the welfare of the people. In your efforts to bring the benefits of literacy to the entire male population of your State, to spread knowledge among women, to uplift the backward and depressed classes, to promote the public health, to improve economic conditions, and to induce a desire and an aptitude for Local Self-Government, Your Highness has addressed yourself to questions the right solution of which would bring about the cure of many political ills. No greater service can be rendered to India than that of taking these matters in hand as Your Highness has done, not merely as a theorist or idealist but as a practical administrator conscious of actual needs and familiar also with the difficulties which are involved in the breaking away from old tradition. By wise promotion of a system of political and social order aiming at the

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*Ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the State Railway Workshops at Goyagate, Baroda.*

combination of all that is best in Eastern and Western civilisation, the Ruler of an Indian State may do much to show the path of progress to the peoples of India.

I echo Your Highness' regret that my visit to Baroda must need be so short, and I thank Your Highness warmly for your cordial hospitality. I shall carry away the most pleasant recollections of my visit to Baroda, and I trust that Your Highness will at all times regard me as your sincere friend and well-wisher.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of our distinguished host, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar.

CEREMONY OF LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE  
STATE RAILWAY WORKSHOPS AT GOYAGATE, BARODA.

[ His Excellency the Viceroy laid the foundation stone of the State Railway Workshops on the morning of the 25th March. In performing the ceremony His Excellency made the following speech :— ] 25th March  
1919.

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I have listened with deep interest to the account which has been read of the development of railways in the Baroda State and of the ends aimed at in the construction of the workshops of which Your Highness has been kind enough to invite me to lay the foundation stone.

It is a special pleasure to me to be associated in an undertaking that marks a further step in the wise policy which Your Highness has pursued for so many years. The establishment of workshops on the scale indicated in the report which the Dewan has just read cannot fail to have an

*State Banquet at Hyderabad.*

important and highly beneficial effect on the industrial life of Baroda. I congratulate Your Highness on the railway system which you have so prudently built up and I trust that this undertaking to which Your Highness is now laying your hand may be attended with the success which it deserves in still further promoting Your Highness' beneficent aims.

## STATE BANQUET AT HYDERABAD.

27th March 1919. [His Excellency the Viceroy arrived at Hyderabad on the morning of the 27th March. His Exalted Highness the Nizam gave a State Banquet the same night in honour of His Excellency's visit and in proposing the Viceroy's health said :—]

*Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—Having had the pleasure of meeting His Excellency on previous occasions, I feel that in extending to him a cordial and warm welcome to my Capital I am welcoming an honoured and valued friend.

Lord Chelmsford is the eighth successive Viceroy whom Hyderabad has had the privilege of receiving since the year 1884. In the speech my late lamented father delivered on the occasion of a banquet given to the late Earl of Minto in November 1907, he said—"It is impossible to over-estimate the advantages that result from the Ruler of this State making the personal acquaintance of the distinguished representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor." I emphatically endorse this view. To my mind the visit of each successive Viceroy tends to draw more closely together the ties of friendship which have existed from time immemorial between the British Government and the Nizam of Hyderabad. This traditional friendship led to my predecessors earning the title of the Faithful Ally of the British Government, and by the gracious favour of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, this honourable title has lately been formally confirmed to me. I need not say how highly I value and prize this historic

*State Banquet at Hyderabad.*

title. And here I would take this opportunity of asking the Viceroy to convey to the King-Emperor the assurance of my profound devotion and unswerving loyalty to His Imperial Majesty's Person and Throne. It is a fortunate circumstance that His Excellency's welcome visit to my State has taken place very soon after the most successful and victorious termination of the greatest war the world has ever seen. I earnestly hope and pray that from now an enduring peace will be established throughout the world, and that great prosperity and contentment will reign throughout the world-wide British Empire, of which India is one of the brightest jewels in her Crown. None of the long line of distinguished Viceroys, I venture to think, has been fated to bear a heavier burden, and that more worthily borne than the two Viceroys it has been my privilege to call my personal friends, namely, Lords Hardinge and Chelmsford; and I consider India fortunate that during the past  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years of strain and stress of war and Constitutional Reforms, the reins of Government have been held by an English statesman so richly endowed as Lord Chelmsford with the qualities of courage and confidence, patience and sympathy. Our pleasure on the occasion of the Viceroy's visit is somewhat marred by the absence of Lady Chelmsford in England; we all wish her a safe and speedy return to India. I trust His Excellency will carry away with him pleasant memories of his short visit to my State.

I will now ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join me in drinking to the health of my distinguished guest Lord Chelmsford, and I wish to be allowed to couple with my toast the name of Lady Chelmsford, though she is absent.

[In replying to the toast His Excellency said :—]

*Your Exalted Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—Your Exalted Highness has alluded to the close ties of friendship which have existed from time immemorial between the British Government and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The war has tested those ties, has found them firm, and has left them stronger than ever. Soon after the outbreak of war

*State Banquet at Hyderabad.*

the people of Hyderabad and the Musalman population of India at a time of perplexity and distress, received guidance and encouragement from the memorable manifesto in which Your Exalted Highness enjoined upon your co-religionists to swerve not a hair's breadth from their devotion to the British Government—the friend and protector of Islam. Since then our old companionship in arms has been renewed; the State treasure has been poured out for the Empire's needs, and every call for assistance has met with an instant and generous response. The formal confirmation to the Rulers of Hyderabad of the historic style of the "Faithful Ally of the British Government," as well as the other tokens of His Imperial Majesty's regard, which have been conferred upon Your Exalted Highness, make plain to the outward eye the proud record of the Hyderabad State.

I have long desired to pay a visit to Your Exalted Highness in your own Capital in order that our acquaintance, which was formed in Delhi last year, might ripen into personal intimacy and that the relations which so happily subsisted between the Hyderabad State and the Imperial Government might thus find their counterpart in our mutual friendship and esteem. My war pre-occupations, as Your Exalted Highness is aware, have prevented me from fulfilling this ambition hitherto, but with the coming of victory I have taken the first opportunity of accepting your cordial invitation in order that I may assure Your Exalted Highness of my friendship and support.

As regards the affairs of Hyderabad, Lord Hardinge, when he visited the State in 1913, spoke of the immense and rapid advance which had been made in every direction.

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There was then good reason to anticipate a period of uninterrupted prosperity and development, but the war has necessarily curtailed the activities of the State Departments and has compelled the postponement of various important projects. Much has nevertheless been done to improve and beautify this great city during the past few years, and I have read with interest of the completion of the Usman Sagar dam and of the new High Court, both of which I look forward to seeing. I have read also of the other undertakings now in progress which have for their object improvement, material and moral, in the conditions of life of Your Exalted Highness' subjects.

The personal interest which Your Exalted Highness has from the first taken in the administration of the State is a matter of common knowledge and you have been well served by able and loyal lieutenants. I learn that two of the principal officials are about to retire after long and faithful service to the State, namely, Nawab Sir Faridoon Jung, who has spent 54 years in devoted service to the Nizams of Hyderabad, and Mr. R. I. R. Glancy, whose able management of the finances since he succeeded Sir George Casson Walker in 1911 has done so much to place the prosperity of the State on a stable foundation. I sincerely hope that Your Exalted Highness may be fortunate enough to find as their successors officers equally deserving of your confidence, and that Hyderabad under your guidance may continue to prosper in the contentment of all classes of your subjects and in the honoured esteem of the British Government. It only remains for me to thank Your Exalted Highness for the kind manner in which you have proposed the toast of my health and for your courtesy in coupling with it the name of Lady Chelmsford.

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*Annual Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association.*

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will ask you to join with me in drinking to the prosperity of the Hyderabad State and to the health and fortune of its Ruler, our illustrious host.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE  
ASSOCIATION.

24th June [The Annual Meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association was  
1919. held on the 24th June in the Council Chamber at Viceregal Lodge, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. There was a large attendance and Sir Edward and Lady MacLagan were among those present.

The Proceedings of 1918 were confirmed.

The Commander-in-Chief presented the Annual Report.

His Excellency the Viceroy said :—]

This is the fourth occasion on which I have addressed this gathering. Each St. John's Day for the past three years we have hoped against hope that the coming year would bring again the blessings of peace, but each year our hopes have been dashed to the ground. Even a short two months ago I looked forward to discussing with you the problems of peace development, but it was not to be, and we are confronted to-day with a campaign which, though no doubt mere child's play as compared with the great war, will require our best efforts so that we may alleviate the suffering which is inseparable from operations carried on at such a period of the year and under such difficult conditions. It is unnecessary to remind most of you of the past history of the St. John's Ambulance Association, but for those who are unacquainted with it, let me very briefly recapitulate the present position. The Association is an organisation normally for instruction in first-aid and

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nursing and for giving effect through its Ambulance Brigades to the lessons imparted on its educational side. In addition to this up to August 1916 it contributed to the efforts made to succour the sick and wounded in war. In that year I was able with the help of the late Sir Pardey Lukis to enlist the help of the Joint War Committee of the Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Association at home, and we became the Indian Branch of that Joint War Committee. It has been inevitable that the war aspect during the last four years should have obscured the normal activities of the Association, but this does not mean that they have ceased to exist.

Let me then, before I touch upon the points of war work, briefly comment upon them.

The facts and figures given in the Annual Report and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's summary of them will have shown you that we have every reason for satisfaction with the results of our labours during 1917-18, but we must see to it that the interest that has been aroused is not allowed to die down. The Indian Council has carried out during the year an important measure of reorganisation, designed to give fuller recognition of the position of Provincial centres. Those centres will now have their own finances, and will exercise a definite control over the local organisations. It is a measure of decentralisation which is in keeping with the spirit of the times ; and we hope that the Provincial centres, by their increased energy in stimulating the growth of Ambulance work, in promoting the foundation of new branches, and in the supervision of the educational activities of the local centres will justify the enhanced powers which have been bestowed on them. The reorganisation has not unnaturally involved a



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certain sacrifice in the direct receipts of the Indian Council, and it is only by increased activity on the part of all centres, Provincial and local alike, that the balance can be readjusted. There are great opportunities before the Association ; on every side it is faced with the necessity for extending the scope of its activities. The Indian Council is, for instance, considering the organisation of classes in maternity work—a crying need in this country. But if it is to realise its opportunities, it must be in a strong financial position, and I wish to impress on the managing bodies of all centres the need not only for extending their classes but for enlisting subscribing members. Our acknowledgments are due to all those whose voluntary efforts have assisted the Association during the year ; to the many medical officers who have given their time in instructing classes ; to the Executive Committee, the Honorary Treasurer and Honorary Auditors. It must be a matter of gratification to us all that the services of our Secretary, Mr. Hanrahan, and the voluntary assistance so freely given by more than one officer of the Association have been recognised in the last Birthday Honours list.

I turn now to the war side of the work of the Association, in which it has taken its share as a partner in the Joint War Committee of the St. John's Ambulance and the Red Cross Society. When I last addressed you, the Joint War Committee, placed in the possession of ample resources by the efforts of the " Our Day " Committee, had found itself able not only to take over complete responsibility for the widespread activities of the Red Cross in Mesopotamia, but greatly to extend its work in the military hospitals in India. We were far from expecting then that in a few months' time it would be within sight of the termination of the bulk of its

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work in Mesopotamia : but the conclusion of the armistice, and the rapid demobilisation of our forces in that area, enabled the Red Cross Commissioner to close his work in March last. The details of these operations have been given in Mr. Hailey's speech ; it only remains for me to repeat here, if repetition is necessary, the obligations which our forces in Mesopotamia owe to the efforts of the Red Cross organisation, and the unstinted liberality of the Indian public which made those efforts possible. India can boast, and justly boast, that when she had set her hand to the task of succouring the sick, the wounded and the convalescent in that difficult and inhospitable theatre of war, she did so bountifully ; and I believe that the record of our Red Cross operations in Mesopotamia during the last year of the war will compare not unfavourably with that of the Red Cross in any of the numerous fields of its activity.

But scarcely had the Committee been relieved of stress of work in Mesopotamia when it unexpectedly found itself called upon to enter on a fresh field of effort on the North-West Frontier. I am glad to think that the experience it had gained, not only of work across the seas, but in the Waziristan and Marri expeditions, was not wasted. A voluntary organisation is always at a disadvantage in the commencement of operations ; it has no permanent staff of officers to draw on, and it cannot keep in hand the large supplies of articles which are required on the occurrence of a serious emergency. But the Committee found ready assistance from the Commander-in-Chief, who deputed a number of officers as Red Cross Commissioners, and it was fortunate in the possession of considerable stocks of comforts in its Bombay dépôt. Very large supplies were rapidly moved up to the front ; dépôts were

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opened at Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Kohat, Quetta and Bannu ; and the issue of comforts to hospitals and field units commenced within a fortnight of the outbreak of hostilities. The tale of these operations—and I hope it will be a tale of no great length—will remain to be told when we meet again ; but the public may be satisfied that the Committee has taken an early and a firm grasp of the problem before it.

For the moment the Joint War Committee must direct its energies to meeting the demands of the frontier campaign. But when this is over, important questions regarding its future constitution and the scope of its work remain for decision. It is clear in the first place that, if it is to meet efficiently the sudden strain that operations such as those on the frontier may throw on it, it must have a better equipped system of advanced depôts, and some scheme whereby it can put its hands without delay on the necessary *personnel* of storekeepers, clerks, and similar establishments ; it must have its own means of transport ; and it must have a considerable stock of non-perishable stores ready to move up to any front which may require them. But these are problems of minor importance compared to the major question of its future constitution. Its Chairman, Sir Claude Hill, had already initiated a discussion with its Provincial branches and the London Committee on a proposal to undertake the legislation required to allow the Indian Committee to devote its funds to the care of civil as well as military hospitals ; since his departure on leave we have had under consideration an even wider scheme, by which the Committee may give place to a regularly constituted Indian Red Cross Society, adhering to the new World's League of Red Cross Societies, and having, in common with the other adherents to that League, not only the military side

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which we now look on as the main sphere of Red Cross operations, but a civil side which will embrace peace activities. In our case civil work would probably commence with a definite scheme for assistance to civil hospitals ; but it is not difficult to realise the value such an organisation would also possess in dealing with epidemics, such as the late outbreak of influenza, which caused many million deaths in India. These matters are still in discussion ; their solution will demand anxious thought, and consultation not only with Provincial branches but with members of the public ; for if the work of the present Joint War Committee is to take the wider aspect now outlined, and if it, or the organisation to which it may give place, is to enter effectively on the almost unlimited field of beneficent activity on which I have touched, it can only do so under an assured guarantee both of the goodwill and the liberal co-operation of the public in India.

OPENING OF THE 1919 SIMLA SESSION OF THE IMPERIAL  
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

[The first meeting of the Autumn Session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held on the 3rd September in the Council Chamber, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. His Excellency in opening the Session addressed the Council as follows :—]

Let me first welcome Hon'ble Members to another Session. We are met together, for reasons which are familiar to you all, in diminished numbers, but we have important work to do, and I am confident that Hon'ble Members will devote their best attention to it.

Since our last meeting we have to mourn the loss of a colleague who had earned the respect of us all—the late

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Mr. Ironside. His standard of devotion to duty, both public and private, was high and he never hesitated to stand by his convictions even at the risk of incurring personal unpopularity. It is a melancholy consolation to know that his merits had been recognised and that it had been the intention of His Majesty the King-Emperor to bestow on him the honour of Knighthood but for his untimely death which occurred on the eve of the conferment of that honour.

Another personality we shall miss is that of Sir Sankaran Nair. Sir Sankaran Nair felt it incumbent on himself to resign his office. His reasons for resigning were honourable to himself and I thoroughly appreciated them, but as the relations between colleagues in a Government are necessarily of a private nature, I do not propose to discuss them. We shall all, I am sure, welcome as his successor a Member of this Council of long-standing, Mr. Mian Mahomed Shafi, and wish him all success in his new duties.

While I am on the subject of welcomes I should like to take the opportunity of welcoming back to this country His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. The admirable work which His Highness did during the historic gathering at Versailles has been warmly acknowledged both by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State and we all owe to Mr. Montagu, His Highness and Lord Sinha a debt of gratitude for their arduous labours on behalf of India.

The full result of their labours will not be seen for some time, for the work of the Peace Conference is not completed. Its final decision on the Turkish peace terms, more particularly, is still awaited, and by our Muslim fellow-subjects is awaited with such keen concern that I feel I should say one or two

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words with regard to the matter. I have throughout done all in my power to ensure full representation of their feelings. Not only have the Government of India placed the views of Muslim India with strong emphasis before His Majesty's Government, our delegates voiced those views before the Peace Conference, and that nothing might be left undone to lend weight to their evidence, it was reinforced by three Muslims of distinction who had been specially delegated to attend the Peace Conference with them. Muslim India may therefore rest assured that its feelings have been given the fullest representation possible.

Since the close of the last Session there have been events of a grave character disturbing the peace and tranquillity of this country, and I cannot pass them over without mention. Last Session certain Hon'ble Members during the passage of the Rowlatt Bill gave me warnings of an almost minatory character that if that Bill passed into law, there would be agitation of a serious nature. I think Hon'ble Members will realise that no Government could deviate from a policy which it regarded as essential on account of any threat of agitation. However there were those who thought that it was necessary to make good this threat, and as a consequence the deplorable events occurred which are to be the subject of an enquiry. It is not my intention to discuss these events, but I would point out this, that it is easy to minimise their gravity after the disorders have been put down. No one who had the responsibility of dealing with them is likely to forget the issue which they had to face. Murders and arson were committed, telegraph wires were cut, railway lines were torn up, and for some days my only sure communication with Government of the Punjab was by means of the wireless. Ocular proof of

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the gravity of the situation with which we were then faced, and of the damage done is still manifest in many of the districts which suffered ; and to any one who would attempt to minimise the trouble I would say " Go into these districts and see for yourself the vestiges of senseless destruction which are still there."

The policy of my Government was clearly set out in our Resolution of April 14th. I promised support to the Head of each Local Government for such measures as he thought it might be necessary to take and that support was given unwaveringly throughout. No one deplores more than I the need there was for stern action, but the result of our prompt measures was that the disorders were quelled and peace restored. It is my desire now and it is that of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to exercise clemency towards the unfortunate misguided men, who were led away by " some educated and clever man or men," to use Mr. Gandhi's words, to commit outrages. For some time past Sir Edward Maclagan has been busily engaged in reviewing the sentences passed, and in every case possible he has tempered justice with mercy.

And for those cases which have come before the Government of India I have no hesitation in claiming that they received the most careful consideration and that orders were passed with the greatest possible despatch.

For some time past my Government has been in correspondence with the Secretary of State upon the question of an inquiry into these disorders. We have both been anxious to settle this question as quickly as possible, but an announcement has been delayed largely by the difficulty of procuring

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the services of a suitable Chairman. It was only on Saturday last that I heard that Lord Hunter had agreed to come to India in that capacity. The Committee is now complete and will consist of —

*Chairman :*

LORD HUNTER, formerly Solicitor-General for Scotland.

*Members :*

- (1) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice RANKIN.
- (2) The Hon'ble Mr. RICE.
- (3) Major-General Sir GEORGE BARROW.
- (4) Sir CHIMAN LAL SETALVAD.
- (5) Sahibzada SULTAN AHMAD.

Their instructions will be to inquire into and to report to the Governor-General in Council regarding the causes of, and the measures taken to cope with, the recent disorders in Delhi, the Punjab and the Bombay Presidency. The proceedings of the Committee will ordinarily be public, but the Chairman will have authority to direct them to be held *in camera* when he considers that the public interests so require. It is hoped that the Committee will begin its sessions next month. The members have a difficult task before them ; and I trust that people of all classes of opinion will do nothing to add to their difficulties by the needless importation of irrelevant or intentionally inflammable material.

After disorders involving so great an upheaval of normal conditions such an inquiry as I have just announced is one inevitable consequence. The second and no less necessary sequel is the passing of an Act indemnifying those officers of Government who were called upon to undertake the onerous



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and ungrateful task of restoring order, and the validating of such acts as the stress of circumstances required. Whatever the findings of the Commission may be such a measure would be necessary : and in justice to our officers we are bound to indemnify them at the earliest convenient moment.

I now turn from internal troubles to our difficulties on the frontier.

Before law and order had been finally restored in India a fresh complication arose on our North-West border. On the evening of May 3rd news reached us that our frontier had been violated in the neighbourhood of Landi Kotal. In view of the friendly correspondence which had been passing between the Amir and myself, I found it difficult to believe that such aggression was with the knowledge and had the support of the Afghan Government, and I despatched an immediate letter to the Amir asking him to repudiate the action of his officials. Unfortunately within 24 hours overwhelming evidence came into my hands of the deliberate aggression of the Afghan Government, and I gave orders for the immediate expulsion of the Afghan forces from our territories. On May 9th and 11th actions were fought expelling our foe from the vicinity of Landi Kotal. On May 13th Dakka was occupied by the Cavalry, and on May 16th and 17th actions were fought in the hills overlooking it which resulted in the defeat and dispersal of the Afghan forces. At the same time our aeroplanes were not idle and Jalalabad was visited and bombed, resulting in the abandonment of that city by the Afghan troops and its looting by the ever-watchful tribes.

In the meantime the Afghan Government had become aware of the grave miscalculation of which they had been

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guilty in thus challenging the British Empire. On two occasions after these defeats they attempted to approach me with a view to a cessation of hostilities, but having regard to the doubtful character of the credentials of their envoys, I insisted on a personal request from the Amir himself and this was received on June 1st. As a result of the Amir's appeal hostilities against Afghanistan were discontinued and Armistice terms were laid down. There ensued correspondence with the Amir relating to the details of these which terminated on the 8th July when I invited him to send in his delegates to the Peace Conference.

In the meantime the protracted delay rendered the military position difficult. Hostilities had ceased against the Afghans, but the tribes who had been aroused knew little or nothing of the courtesies of war. The war zone of 105,000 odd square miles which constitutes the provinces and tribal areas of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier was an immense area. It was impossible to be strong at every point and convoys passing through difficult country necessarily ran grave risks. Moreover, it was necessary to maintain in certain localities troops massed and ready to advance into Afghanistan at a moment's notice if peace negotiations broke down. An active offensive striking at the vital points of an enemy's defence is always the best defensive. Owing to the armistice our troops were debarred from that. There have been then certain unfortunate incidents of a minor character, but I think the wonder is, in view of the extraordinarily difficult military position which I have outlined, not that they occurred, but that there were not more of them.

I now come to the treaty of peace and the policy embodied in it. I want to make this clear—our policy was divided

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into two chapters, the first comprising a treaty of peace, the second, which has yet to be written, envisaging a treaty of friendship.

In view of the aggression which had taken place we felt that it would be a hollow mockery to conclude at once a treaty of friendship. Anxious though we are to see our Afghan neighbour prosperous and friendly, we felt that time must pass before we can wipe away the memory of what has occurred. I believe myself confidently that the time will come when Afghanistan will realise that we have no designs upon her and that we only wish to see her prosper and live on friendly terms with us. But the initiative towards a *rapprochement* must come from her. Not only have we no designs on her, but India is in no way dependent upon her. If Afghanistan wishes for our friendship nothing will give us greater pleasure than to respond, but if she prefers to hold aloof, we shall not force ourselves upon her. That being the position then we made the treaty of peace with the terms of which Hon'ble Members are familiar, and if the Afghan Government after an interval of six months wish to expand that treaty of peace into a treaty of friendship, we shall be delighted to consider their overtures, provided always that they have in the meantime given us by their conduct satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of their purpose. I cannot leave this subject without paying a tribute to the ability, tact and skill with which Sir Hamilton Grant, assisted by Mr. Maffey and General Moberly, conducted the peace negotiations at Rawalpindi, and I would also specially mention the great assistance given them by their Indian colleagues.

And now I must say a few words about the allegations of breakdown in our medical arrangements in the late campaign

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I shall confine myself in the main to a statement of facts, but it may interest you also to hear what I gathered during my tour at the front.

The first fact which should be borne in mind is that of the strength of our forces on the frontier, for the only significance that figures can have is their relationship to other figures. And if you take the total admission figures without reference to the strength of the force of which they are the casualties, you necessarily misinterpret their meaning.

Taking the operations as a whole the maximum ration strength of our forces on the frontier was 247,000 men. For the period 5th May to 9th August the total admissions to hospital were 10,882 British and 45,774 Indian troops and followers, giving a daily admission rate per thousand of strength of 4·98 British and 2·97 Indians. At the same time the deaths per 1,000 admissions to hospital (excluding wounded) were British 0·82 and Indians 27·74. Now I could compare this with similar figures in other campaigns at the same period of the year, but I will content myself with two years' figures in Mesopotamia, when the medical arrangements were admittedly admirable. In 1917 the admissions per 1,000 were British 5·04 and Indians 2·11, and the mortality per 1,000 admissions was British 19·30, Indians 15·96. Similarly in 1918 the admissions per 1,000 were British 3·48 and Indians 2·27 and the mortality per 1,000 was British 7·41 and Indians 20·51. One word is needed with regard to the relatively high mortality among Indians. This was due to the high incidence of cholera, especially among Indian followers, whose standard of water discipline was naturally lower than that of regular troops and who could not be restrained from

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quenching their thirst at pools and streams which though apparently pure were in reality full of cholera germs.

Another comparative estimate of the sick rate of the force may be obtained from the daily number of hospital evacuations from the front to the base. The normal loss by evacuation on account of sickness from a force engaged in active operations in a temperate climate in Europe is accepted by all military authorities as averaging 3 per 1,000 of strength per day. This figure in the case of the troops operating on the frontier under the most adverse climatic conditions, and including gunshot wounds, was 2·8 for British and 1·3 for Indian troops and followers. I could give you other figures and other comparisons, but these would be out of place at this moment when I am endeavouring to give a general conspectus of the position. Believe me I make no complaints of the not unnatural anxiety which has been aroused as to our medical arrangements at the front, and I can sympathise with the man who lying sick under conditions of shade temperature of 110 to 120 and of the inevitable hardship of frontier campaigning writes with a pen dipped in the gall of his experiences, but is it not right and fair to the men who are responsible for the medical arrangements to judge them by the result of their work as a whole and not by isolated cases, sad but I venture to think inevitable in any campaign however admirably conducted ?

Now let me say one word as to my tour at the front. I endeavoured to see everything and I asked questions of everyone I met—from Generals down to the soldier in the ranks. I brought away from what I saw and heard the impression that everything was being done that was possible to alleviate the trials and discomforts of the campaign, but I will quote one sentence from one whose opinion will, I think, carry

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weight and who is not in any way connected with the military or medical aspect of the campaign. I refer to Sir George Roos-Keppel, whose approaching departure for England will rob the frontier of one who has for so many years been its most dominating personality. He said that in his experience of frontier warfare, and I am sure everyone will acknowledge that experience, he had never seen so much done for the health and comfort of the troops.

In concluding this subject I should like to express my sympathy with and admiration for the troops who have been serving in this campaign. The British troops were for the most part due for demobilisation ; some being for all practical purposes taken off the ship that was to take them home. They have taken their disappointment admirably. We wish to send them back to England at the earliest possible opportunity and everything is being done to hasten their departure. I was glad to have the opportunity which my visit afforded of showing them the interest which I have in them, and of the gratitude which we all in India feel for their services.

To the Indian troops I would also express my admiration of the soldierly bearing which was so marked in the ranks of the fine regiments which I visited. They too have had their disappointments. Some had been separated for months and even years from their families and were about to rejoin them, only to be hurried off to a fresh campaign. Others had been forced to forego the furlough they had earned and take their place in the ranks. But one and all they cheerfully accepted their orders, and it was a pleasure and a pride for me to pass down their splendid ranks.

Before I leave the subject of the Afghan war, I should like to express our obligations to the Ruling Princes and Chiefs

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who without exception immediately on the outbreak of hostilities placed the resources of their States at the disposal of Government, and offered the assistance of their Imperial Service Troops, many of whom had only just returned to India from the countries overseas, in which they had fought so gallantly on behalf of the Empire. Contingents of Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery, Sappers and Miners and Transport from many of the States were employed either with the field army at the front or on garrison duty while the Rulers of Patiala, Dholpur, Ratlam and Baria and two sons of the Nawab of Loharu were at their own request appointed to the staff in the field. It would take me too long to recount the numerous offers of camels, mators and money for the provision of comforts for troops engaged in the campaign which we received and gladly accepted. For all these and generous assistance in every way I ask the Princes and Ruling Chiefs to accept our grateful thank .

I wish also to express my most cordial thanks to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Nepal, who, in spite of the difficulties attendant on the movement of troops through the Terai in the hot weather, sent to our assistance another magnificent contingent, which I had the pleasure of visiting at Nowshera during my recent tour.

Reference to the troops brings me by a natural sequence to mention of the Indian Soldiers' Board, the creation of which I described at the last meeting of Council, and which has, under the wise direction of my colleague Sir George Lowndes, been actively engaged during the summer in devising measures to reward distinguished service during the war, to safeguard the interests of Indian soldiers and their dependants, and suitably to commemorate the exploits of the Indian Army.

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Throughout the war the officers and men of the Indian Army have looked forward with expectancy, at the conclusion of hostilities, to the promised distribution of rewards for distinguished service. This distribution is now about to take place. Thanks to the generosity of Local Governments, and especially of the Punjab, large areas of land will, in the near future, be divided amongst our soldiers : while those who are not agriculturists or for whom no land can be made available will receive monthly allowances of money with effect from the current month.

The relief of necessitous cases among the dependants of soldiers has been carried out with a considerable measure of liberality, large sums having been placed at the disposal of Local Governments to help those whose circumstances, in the opinion of the local authorities, require assistance. We also intend to make a further distribution from the accumulated funds of the Imperial Indian Relief Fund among Indian soldiers who have been permanently incapacitated, and dependants left in straitened circumstances.

Turning to the Indian Defence Force, training on a modified scale was resumed last April. Proposals regarding the future organisation and terms of service of the European portion of the Force based on the recommendations of a conference held last March have now been worked out. They will shortly be published as a draft Bill in the *Gazette of India* in order that all interests concerned may be afforded ample opportunity of discussing its provisions before legislation is undertaken in February next. The reorganisation of the Indian Branch of the Force is also under consideration. Meanwhile the University Corps is making steady progress.



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The pay of officers, both of the Indian Army and the British Army in this country, is also under revision and the recommendations of Government are now before the Secretary of State. The pay of the army officer at home has now been raised, and I hope that before long we shall be able to announce a similar improvement in the pay of his confrère in India.

I move on from things military to more peaceful matters.

To touch first the question of reforms—this has now passed out of our hands and the issues involved rest for decision by the High Court of Parliament. But while this is so I cannot but express my regret that some of those who are interested in this great question have done such scant justice to the Government of India. Our efforts have been described as endeavours to whittle away the proposals of the Report. They were in truth designed to work out the principles laid down in the Report, and where criticism had been levelled against particular proposals, to substitute for those alternatives which might be less open to objection. It is indeed somewhat amusing to me to find that the Joint Report which at the outset came under so hot a fire of criticism from some of my Indian friends is now to them a sacrosanct document, and that any tampering with its verbally inspired proposals savours of sacrilege. With them I have a not unnatural admiration for that document, but my admiration does not extend to idolatry, and I am quite prepared if something better is suggested to give it my best consideration. But with these words I will leave the subject with the expression of the hope that there will emerge from Parliament a scheme which will carry out the principles and the promises of the Announcement of August 1917. My colleagues and I have slaved at this problem for now nearly three years, and we hope that

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before another Session comes round Parliament will have delivered its final judgment upon our efforts. From the very beginning I have laid stress on the fact that this is an issue which can be decided by His Majesty's Government alone. We have given them the considered views of the Government of India ; the opinions of Local Governments are fully before them ; and political bodies of every kind have sent in their criticisms and suggestions. No one can say that he has not been heard. It may be that Parliament in its wisdom will not accept in its entirety any one scheme which may have been put forward, but for my part I shall accept its decision and carry it out loyally, and I hope and trust that all those who have engaged and been interested in this great controversy will similarly endeavour to sink their differences and concentrate their efforts on making the Reforms a success.

I pass on to a subject which to the people of India as a whole is of even more interest than reforms—the monsoon.

Since this Council last met, India has passed through a period of grave anxiety, and indeed I do not care to think of what our position would be to-day if the present monsoon had been less satisfactory. As the Council is aware, the monsoon of 1918 was disappointing, and though timely showers improved the *rabi* crops in some provinces, the year 1918-19 was marked by a failure of crops unprecedented as regards the extent of country affected. Famine, high prices and economic distress have, of course, been the inevitable result, and either famine or scarcity has been declared in parts of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces, Rajputana, Central India, Central Provinces, Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras. Prices of food-grains too have reached a level never before touched. Much distress has been caused by these high prices, but it is

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a striking proof of the increased wealth and greater staying power of India that the numbers on relief have been comparatively small. High-water mark was touched in the week ending June 21st, 1919, when 589,535 persons were on relief. In the famine of 1899--1901, I may mention, the maximum numbers on relief in any one week were 6,332,121. Our anxieties have been relieved to some extent by the favourable character of this year's monsoon. The rains, though late in setting in in parts of the country, have recently been abundant, and though it is too early to speak with absolute confidence, the prospects of the *kharif* crop may fairly be said to be encouraging. The numbers on relief are also decreasing, but prices do not yet show any signs of material reduction, and I am afraid that the prolonged strain must be telling on people with small fixed incomes. A resolution, however, is to be moved on the subject of high prices and the Hon'ble Revenue Member will no doubt take the opportunity of explaining the measures we have taken to deal with the situation. I will not take up the time of the Council, therefore, by anticipating what he has to say.

I think it was a former Finance Member who referred to the Indian budget as a gamble in rain. In addition to his anxiety on the score of the monsoon, the present Finance Member has had to grapple with serious difficulties in the matter of currency and exchange.

One matter in connection with the latter has been exercising the minds of the commercial community and I have deep sympathy with their anxiety with regard to it. I refer to the continual alteration in the exchange value of the rupee. We equally with them want stability and it was with the object of obtaining a permanent solution of this problem that the

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Secretary of State appointed an influential body of experts to advise him. The rupee value had been fixed in May at 1s. 8d. and it was our hope that it would be possible to maintain the exchange value at that figure at least until the Committee had made its recommendations. Unfortunately events have proved too strong for us and the further rise in the price of silver has forced us again to advance the rupee to 1s. 10d. We thoroughly realise the great handicap to India's foreign trade caused by a feeling of unsettlement regarding the course of exchange, but we hope that the commercial community will equally realise that it is impossible for us to coin rupees, the bullion value of which is greater than their face value. I can only leave the matter here and express the hope that the Committee will be able to find a solution of this problem which will be permanent and ensure us a stability in the exchange value of the rupee. It must be remembered that in this matter India is at the mercy of conditions beyond her control. Apart from the rise in the value of silver, the rupee position is affected by the fall in the value of the pound sterling as measured in gold and these are matters among others which will have to be carefully weighed by the Expert Committee to which the examination of this difficult problem has been referred. I have asked the Hon'ble Finance Member, who has lately visited Bombay, to visit Calcutta and discuss the situation with the Chamber of Commerce there.

I think there has been some misunderstanding in regard to the Indian Companies Restriction Act. The present position is that the Act will automatically lapse six months after the date which may be notified as the termination of the war. Licences are now being given practically as a matter of course, but the fact that applications accompanied by various

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papers are required causes some inconvenience and delay. We are anxious to abolish at the earliest date possible all restrictions introduced during the war which are now not absolutely necessary, and we have therefore decided to anticipate the natural death of this particular restriction by repealing the Act this Session.

The Labour Problem is now, as you are aware, of almost world-wide importance, and although we have been spared the labour troubles which have disturbed other countries, India has not been left altogether untouched. A number of clauses in the Treaty of Peace concluded at Versailles, as you probably know, refer to labour questions. India, who has the honour of being one of the original members of the League of Nations, is, as such, also an original member of the Permanent Organisation for the Promotion of the International Regulation of labour conditions. This organisation will consist of an International Labour Conference with an International Labour Office as part of the machinery of the League of Nations. It is intended that the first meeting of the Conference should take place at Washington in October and the various countries will be represented by four delegates each, two representing the Government of the country concerned, one representing employers and one representing employed. We have been asked to select representatives to send to Washington on behalf of India, and I hope shortly to be able to announce their names.

It is of course of great importance to recognise, as was fully recognised by my Right Hon'ble friend Lord Sinha and by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, that the conditions of industrial labour in this country differ wholly from those prevailing in the West. I believe it is largely due to their representations that the draft Convention drawn up at the

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Peace Conference specifically recognised that the labour conditions which might be settled for Western countries would have to be modified in the case of countries such as India. I will read to you that portion of the articles of the draft Convention which makes this reservation. It runs as follows:—

“ In framing any recommendation of draft Convention of general application, the Conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisation, or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different, and shall suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries.”

I need hardly say that the great diversity of physical conditions affecting employment in India, the lack of education among workers and consequent low standard of comfort and absence of organisation, the usually poor physique of Indian labour, and its inability to concentrate effort over a shorter working period, the preponderating importance of agriculture and the lack of specialisation and skill among industrial workers render it impossible to translate propositions which are accepted in Western countries as natural into terms applicable to India, or to devise any formula which will convert the Indian factors into Western equivalents. We must recognise that any attempt to bring Indian labour conditions into line with those of Western countries by violent legislative changes will be disastrous both to employers and to employed. But, while we recognise this, we believe that there is a quickening consciousness throughout the country generally that the

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existing state of affairs is unsatisfactory and unworthy of India's political aspirations. We believe that there is now a prospect of progress more rapid, more radical and more substantial than could have been imagined some few years ago. We had, before we knew the terms of the Peace Conference, taken up the consideration of this question as arising out of the remarks made in the Industrial Commission's Report, and have asked Local Governments for their opinions as to what amendments of the law, if any, are necessary either in the direction of the reduction of the hours of labour or in other respects. We are also elaborating means for making the existing agencies for the care of public health, the provision of industrial housing and primary education more effective.

I pass on to a question closely connected with Indian labour which is greatly exercising public opinion and which has given my Government the most serious anxiety. I refer to the troubles which have arisen in South Africa in connection with the trading rights of Indians in the Transvaal. I need not repeat the history of the recent legislation passed by the Union Parliament. An account of this has been given in a letter from Sir George Barnes to Mr. Gandhi in July last, which has been published in the Press, and you will all be familiar with the main features of the case. I only wish to say that the Government of India have not failed to press the Indian point of view upon His Majesty's Government, and we can claim that we have the full support of the Secretary of State. We have urged that the recent legislation in South Africa is unjustified and is not consonant with the undertaking given by the South African representative at the Imperial War Conference that Lord Sinha's memorandum relating to the rights of

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Indians in the Transvaal would receive the sympathetic consideration of the Union Government.

Let me, however, make a plea for calmness and moderation in dealing with this question. We must admit the strength of feeling on the subject in South Africa, and it behoves us to see that our words and actions are not such as may embitter the existing sentiment and make a settlement more difficult.

I feel too that there is ground for hoping that calmness and moderation will not be wanting in South Africa in dealing with this question, for we know that the late General Botha and General Smuts returned there after discussing fully questions akin to the present one with the distinguished representatives of India whom we sent to the Imperial Conference.

The Union Government, as you know, are appointing a Commission to examine the whole question and we have asked that our interests should be represented. We are making arrangements to send a deputation to see that our point of view is thoroughly presented and thoroughly understood. On this deputation, we propose to send Sir Benjamin Robertson, who so successfully conducted a similar mission in 1914. I am sure that you will agree that we could not select a better representative.

There is another matter relating to the position of Indians overseas, to which I should like to refer, namely, the position of the indentured labourers of Fiji. The main facts are well known to all of you. After the unsatisfactory conditions under which these labourers lived had been brought to the knowledge of the Government of India, all further flow of labour under indenture was stopped, and the Government



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began to press most strongly for the immediate improvement of the conditions, particularly with regard to housing and hospital accommodation. The Colonial Office in London was convinced, and decided that the improvements demanded by the Government of India must be carried out or the indentures cancelled. This was announced by Sir George Barnes in the debate in this Council last September. How far these improvements have been carried out up to date, we have no very clear information. We know, however, that they have been effected at least in part, and that employers have voluntarily in many cases provided separate quarters for married couples. We have nevertheless thought it right to continue to press for the cancellation of the outstanding indentures.

We have just recently been informed by the Secretary of State that the Fiji legislature has made a step in the direction we desire by passing a unanimous resolution that all indentures outstanding on 1st August 1920 should be cancelled from that date, compensation being paid to the employers from the public funds of Fiji. This, however, is not sufficient, and we are pressing again that the cancellation of all indentures should take place by the end of the present year.

I think that I ought also to inform you that the Fiji Government has appointed a Select Committee which is now considering how effect can best be given to our wishes on the other points at issue.

Great difficulty has, as you know, existed hitherto with regard to the repatriation of labourers who may wish to return to India from Fiji. We have no knowledge at present how many desire to return; it is very possible that a large number may wish to make Fiji their home as free men, for the climate is

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good and some Indians who began life as indentured labourers are now men of substance in Fiji. However, we have kept the question of repatriation strongly in mind, and the Secretary of State has at our instance been pressing the Shipping Controller and the Shipping Companies to provide vessels for those who may wish to return to India.

I have another interesting announcement to make. An unofficial mission from Fiji headed, I understand, by the Bishop of Polynesia, is expected to visit India during the coming cold weather in order to investigate conditions in India and, if possible, to persuade Indian public opinion to agree to the resumption of free emigration to Fiji under wholesome conditions. I need hardly assure you that the Government and the people of Fiji are really anxious to do what is right, and I think that we ought to listen carefully to what they have got to say. It may be that they will be able to prove to us that Indian labour would benefit from a well directed scheme of free emigration to Fiji, which has, as I have said above, a healthy climate and is in many ways a country well suited to Indian settlers. If they can show us that our interests coincide, it ought not to be impossible to come to an agreement, but the burden of proof will lie on them, and all I ask you to-day is that, when the mission comes, it should be given a fair hearing.

I have endeavoured to give Hon'ble Members a résumé of the chief questions which are engaging public attention.

So much for the past and present and now what about the future ?

With what I may hope to be the final settlement for the time being of the Reforms problem, it remains for me to

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indicate the particular problems to which I wish to devote attention.

I hope in the first place to lay deep and sure the foundations of the new Industrial development. We have been expeditious in dealing with this most important matter. We were able within a short time of the publication of the Industrial Commission Report to circulate to Local Governments our views upon its recommendations, and I despatched Mr. (now Sir Ernest) Low on a tour round the Provinces to elicit their views and discuss any points of difference. By this method we obtained the views of Local Governments early this year, and we formulated our final and considered opinion in a despatch to the Secretary of State in April. Sir Thomas Holland left by the subsequent mail on deputation to discuss the whole question with the Secretary of State, and I have reason to hope that in the course of the next few weeks we may have a despatch on the subject from the India Office.

This will enable us to proceed straightaway with the inauguration of our machinery for the stimulation and development of Indian industries. I think this brief statement of what has occurred should show the importance which we attach to this subject and our intention of pressing forward. It is scarcely necessary for me to dilate on its importance. We wish to see an India self-sufficing in many of the things which at the present moment she is obliged to import from outside ; we wish to see her dealing with her own raw products : and we wish to see her youth through this development of her industries utilising their undoubtedly great qualities in fields of enterprise from which they have in the main so far held aloof. But if this policy is to be attained, and mind you, we can only lay

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the foundations of it in the months to come, we shall want the co-operation of you all. It will be idle for the Government to establish machinery unless there is a general desire and willingness on the part of Indians to help to work it. And that brings me to one more matter in which I hope to see a very real advance. We have had among us during the past two years the distinguished gentlemen who drafted the Calcutta University Commission Report. That Report, though it is confined to the Calcutta University problem, gives us a luminous conspectus of the position of higher education in India. We are making a start at once with its recommendations by the introduction of the Dacca University Bill. This is an old question. Lord Hardinge promised a University to Dacca and I have renewed his pledge. As Hon'ble Members are aware, it is a subject in which the Mahomedans of Bengal are deeply interested. I am now giving an earnest of our intentions in the matter by the introduction of a Bill. Between this stage and its consideration at the next Delhi Session there will be ample time for an examination of its provisions by the general public, and we shall of course very carefully consider such criticisms as they may have to make on it. In the matter of legislation affecting the Calcutta University, we hope that by February those interested will have had time to formulate their views. But I would impress this point upon Hon'ble Members. In the appointment of the Commission I was careful to see that its members had the highest educational qualifications to deal with the problem they were asked to examine. And that problem has been investigated solely from the educational standpoint. Their recommendations surely should carry great weight, and we should be slow to depart from them save on good cause shown. The members of the

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Commission who came from England, to whom we are under the deepest obligation, had the great advantage of the assistance of the Hon'ble Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, whose zeal in the cause of education is so well known and from whom we may hope to get invaluable assistance in pressing forward the necessary measures ; they also had as their colleague Dr. Ziauddin, who, though he differed from the majority in certain matters of detail, gave his support to the main principles of the Report. To both these gentlemen as well as to their official colleague Mr. Hornell I would offer my grateful appreciation of the work which they have done.

But this Report, like that of the London University Commission, though based on the conditions of one university, is full of suggestiveness on university problems as a whole. I therefore hope that the universities throughout India will take it into consideration and will on their own initiative examine how far its recommendations may throw light on some of their own problems and suggest amendments of their own machinery. I trust therefore that this monumental report will serve as a starting-point for the re-examination of problems in the sphere of higher education throughout India. It will be our privilege to help the universities in any way we can from the centre, and I hope they will not be slow to invite that help.

So then, as in the case of the Industrial Commission Report I look to a great awakening in the region of industrial development, from the Calcutta University Commission Report, I look for great things in the examination and development of our higher education. These two matters are indeed closely interwoven. If Industries are to progress, our higher education must be on sound lines and taken out of its narrow

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*Distribution of prizes at Bishop Cotton School, Simla.*

grooves. If higher education is to be broadened, it is to the industrial development that we must look for the openings which are to induce the student to leave his old haunts and adventure himself in fresh fields and pastures new.

We have come through five terrible years, years full of trouble, years such as the author of our Christian Litany might well have had in mind when he wrote "From plague, pestilence and famine ; from battle and murder and sudden death Good Lord deliver us." We have come through them, however, successfully and the new era of peace has opened for us auspiciously. With the renewal of peace nature is giving us the promise of plenty. The ravaged world will look to us, who have escaped unscathed, for the material with which to rebuild itself.

Let us then grasp our opportunities with both hands. We can of course spend our time in futile wrangling over the past. We can if we are unwise throw away these opportunities by fanning racial bitterness. I hope, however, we shall do none of these things. But let us rather leaving those things which are behind, reach forward to those things which are before in the sure and certain confidence that success will crown our efforts, if they are devoted with a single eye to our country's good.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT BISHOP COTTON SCHOOL,  
SIMLA.

Their Excellencies attended the Annual Prize Distribution at Bishop Cotton School on the 9th September, when the Viceroy  
9th September 1919.

*Distribution of prizes at Bishop Cotton School, Simla.*

distributed the prizes. After the distribution His Excellency addressed the assembly as follows :—

When the Headmaster, a couple of weeks ago, asked me to come down to present your prizes, I was very glad indeed to do so, for, though I am the Visitor of this School, I have not previously visited it.

I decided that I would not make, or even prepare, any formal speech, but that I would first see the boys and the school and then say a few informal words.

From the Headmaster's speech and according to some papers that have been sent to me, I gather that in 1859 Bishop Cotton preached a sermon, and that you date your foundation from that time, though the School was not actually opened till 1863.

All great schools seem to celebrate their foundation on two separate dates.

Now His Honour (the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab) and I have the privilege of belonging to the same School—Winchester. Winchester College was founded some time about 1387 and when I was there in 1887 we celebrated the 500th anniversary of the foundation of the School. We certainly thought we were correct in doing so, and yet a few years later *another* 500th anniversary was celebrated at Winchester. So here at least is a parallel between Bishop Cotton School and Winchester, in that we are both doubtful of the actual date of our foundation. Since Winchester is such an old school we have some excuse for our uncertainty, but I really think that Bishop Cotton School should be able to remember, seeing that the period involved is only fifty or sixty years.

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*Distribution of prizes at Bishop Cotton School, Simla.*

I am glad to hear that the School is progressing so well. We have heard that when Mr. Gillespy took over his post in December last there were only twelve boys definitely enrolled ; by January he had secured fifty ; he opened School on March 1st with one hundred and to-day the numbers on the School books are one hundred and twenty-five. I am sure we all congratulate the Headmaster most heartily on this success, but if he goes on producing boys at this alarming rate we shall soon have two or even three hundred boys here, and with the congested state of Simla we really will not be able to find room for them all. So we must ask Mr. Gillespy to be content with his one hundred and twenty-five and to concentrate his efforts on the improvement in quality instead of quantity.

In any case Mr. Gillespy deserves and needs all the help we can give him in building up the School, and a great deal of this help can come from the parents.

I do not think that, as a body, parents realise how much they can help a Headmaster or how much depends on them in the running of a big school. They can help by taking a real interest in the progress of their sons, but also by not worrying the Headmaster with letters on matters of a trivial nature.

From the papers before me I see that the School was brought in from Jutogh in 1868. Now I cannot help thinking that the Governors of that time made a big mistake in doing this. To me it seems that Jutogh would be an ideal spot for the location of a school. It is more like an English village than a military cantonment in the Himalayas, and its parade ground would have been just the place for cricket and other sports. Of one thing you may now be sure, and that is, having left Jutogh, you will never return to it. Since your



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day the Government have discovered its value and will never permit it to leave their hands.

I am not sure that I cannot claim to be an Old Cottonian, for I lived in Jutogh, in the old School House, now the Officers' Mess, built by Bishop Cotton.

I should like to mention one other point. About this time last year a controversy raged regarding the future of this School. I do not propose to enter into the *pros* and *cons* of the matter now, but to deal with a pleasing aspect of the case. This is the attitude of the Old Cottonians. They were, one and all, up in arms against the proposed change; they objected most strenuously to their Old School being used for a purpose foreign to its traditions. And this I think was the bright spot in the controversy. By their action the Old Boys showed that, though they had left it, they still loved and honoured the Old School, were mindful of its traditions, and jealous of its future. This is the right spirit. A school stands or falls by the attitude of its Old Boys. They can help it in many ways, by gifts of money, or if this is not possible, by showing a sympathetic interest in its progress.

And now I will say a few words to the boys.

As I mentioned just now, His Honour and I were educated at Winchester. It is an old school with many noble traditions, and while there I often thought of the boys who made those traditions; they lived and died hundreds of years before I went to the school. Now, compared with Winchester, your School is very young. Its traditions are in the making, and, and this is very important to you, *you* are the makers of these traditions. In years to come boys will look back and see what *you* did. See to it that the traditions you make are bright and noble.

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*Distribution of prizes at Bishop Cotton School, Simla.*

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I will ask you to remember three points: they are—

1. Play the game.
2. Play for your side.
3. Accept the decisions of the umpire.

Let me take these in order. "Play the game;" by this I mean, always obey the spirit of the rules as well as the letter. Never do anything that is not straight and above board. In school and out of school, on the field and off, always play the game.

Secondly, "Play for your side." Don't be selfish: remember that on the field you are only one of the team, and off it one of the school. Selfishness will never win games. If you are playing football never try to dribble the ball right through to the goal; if you do, you will generally lose it. Pass it to the outside right, or over to the left, and so work with the rest of the team. Remember that it is only by unselfishness that success comes.

Lastly, "Always accept the decisions of the umpire." This is perhaps the hardest of the three, and I am afraid that in these days people are rather given *not* to accept the umpire's decision. I suppose that you have all played cricket at some time or other and you know what it is to be given out "leg-before." No one is ever satisfied with such a decision. Every man who has ever been given out "leg-before" is positively sure that his leg was nowhere near the wicket,

Still, whether right or wrong, whether you are satisfied or not, always accept the decision of the umpire, and accept it without question. To do so is the foundation of true discipline.

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*Last Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, Simla Session, 1919.*

One thing more. Your Headmaster mentioned King's School, Parramatta. I don't suppose any of you know where Parramatta is: I didn't till I went out to Australia. It is a suburb of Sydney. What Mr. Gil'espy said of King's School is correct. I know the school well. Though it is young, it has an important influence in Australia, and I only hope, as your Headmaster anticipates, that one day Bishop Cotton School, Simla, will play as important a part in the development of India.

LAST MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,  
SIMLA SESSION, 1919.

25th Septem- The last meeting of the Autumn Session of the Imperial Legislative  
ber 1919. Council was held on the 25th September 1919. His Excellency the Viceroy, who presided, closed the Session with the following remarks:—

The Council has now come to the end of another Session. It is usual for the Viceroy to address Members of Council both at the beginning and at the end of the Session; but I think that in the circumstances of this particular Session, especially in the circumstances of these last two days, Members would prefer on this occasion to adjourn and not to be kept here a moment longer than the necessity demands, and as a matter of fact it is only three weeks since I addressed the Council most exhaustively on all the various subjects which have been of public interest during the past few months since the last Session. Since that date no new subject has come to the fore, nor has there been any development in any of those matters with which I dealt very fully on that occasion. It only remains for me this evening to thank Hon'ble Members for the work which they have done during the present Session and to wish them god-speed and a safe return to their homes.

UNVEILING OF THE KING EDWARD MEMORIAL STATUE AT  
PATIALA.

His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Her Excellency the 21st October  
Lady Chelmsford and staff, left Simla on the 19th October on the 1919.  
autumn tour. In the course of his visit to Patiala His Excellency  
unveiled the statue of King Edward, and, in performing the ceremony  
said :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—In unveiling the  
statue of the late King-Emperor, Edward VII, I am glad to  
be taking my part in Your Highness' design of perpetuating  
His Majesty's memory.

The ceremony will appeal to us here in Patiala with peculiar  
force at the present time when the services rendered by the  
Indian States in the late war are fresh in our memory, and  
especially the loyal devotion of the Patiala State and its  
Ruling House to the Imperial Throne,—a devotion sanctioned  
by tradition and exemplified in many theatres of war. This  
tradition was recognised by King Edward when as His  
Highness has just told us, in the course of his visit to India as  
Prince of Wales he conferred a special mark of favour upon  
His late Highness Maharaja Mahindra Singh.

His Majesty was essentially the friend of India. The son  
of the first Sovereign to bear the Imperial title, he showed his  
solicitude for India's welfare and his determination to gain  
personal knowledge of the country, its Princes and peoples by  
himself honouring them with his presence. He visited many  
parts of India, including Patiala, and endeared himself to all  
by his tact, his sympathy and his kingly courtesy. To his  
personality, as to that of his august mother, whose statue was  
unveiled here by my predecessor, Lord Curzon, was due in  
great measure the loyalty which he universally commanded.

*State Banquet at Patiala.*

This statue will stand as an enduring monument of a monarch's beneficent rule, of a people's devotion, and of a Prince's faithful allegiance.

King Edward, as Your Highness has reminded us, was known as the Peace Maker, and it is appropriate that his statue should be unveiled at a time when, thanks to the Empire's unity and devotion, a victorious peace has been concluded,—a peace which, with the help of God, will do much, we hope, to eliminate causes of strife and warfare from the world.

Had His Imperial Majesty been living now, he would have shared his peoples' joy in the attainment of such a peace after the unexampled strain and stress of war, and he would have joined in their prayers for its continuance.

Good-will to all men and love of peace were the two main springs of King Edward's life and reign. Let us keep these noble aspirations before our eyes and when we regard this monument, which I will now unveil, let us remember for what King Edward stood and make his ideals our own.

## STATE BANQUET AT PATIALA.

22nd Octo-     His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala gave a State Banquet on the  
ber 1919.     22nd October 1919 in honour of Their Excellencies' visit to his State.

In proposing the health of his guests His Highness said :—

*Your Excellencies*,—In offering you the heartiest welcome to the capital of my State, I wish to give expression to the immense pleasure this visit of Your Excellencies has given me and my people. Seven years have passed since Lord Hardinge, Your Excellency's distinguished predecessor, paid a visit to Patiala, seven years during which the world

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*State Banquet at Patiala.*

has passed through experience which even long centuries has mercifully kept from man. The peace of the world was shaken by Germany. Monarchies crumbled into dust never to rise again. From new ideas and circumstances sprang new ideals, and from the titanic struggle the world has emerged purer and nobler in fighting against the ignoble forces of German militarism. Unheard of sacrifices have had to be made and untold misery had to be experienced, but now that the dreadful war is over one can say without being heartless that all the sacrifices were well worth making. Future aspirants for unscrupulous domination have learnt a lesson which they are not likely to forget. On the other hand, it is impossible for the world not to remember what it owes to the great Empire over which the sun never sets. That this world has been saved from a very serious menace which imperilled all that humanity cherished as high and noble, and without which it were indeed useless, is chiefly due to the marvellous whole-hearted manner in which all the component parts of the British Empire took up the righteous cause of their beloved King-Emperor. A great deal has been said, and with perfect justice, about the part which India as an integral part of the Empire has played in bringing to a triumphant close this greatest war the world has ever known. I do not propose to dilate here on India's services as a whole, but Your Excellency will permit me to say something on what my own State has been able to do during the four anxious years of the struggle.

With the declaration of war I hastened to place unreservedly all the resources of my State at the service of His Majesty the King-Emperor, All my troops were speedily mobilised and I had the honour of leading my men in person across the seas to fight in the cause of the King-Emperor. Unfortunately, however, before my fond hopes of seeing active service were realised, serious illness compelled me to return to Patiala. Bitter as was the disappointment I was determined to make good use of my enforced stay here. The great deed of the hour was the supply of men and to this duty I set myself heart and soul. It was a matter of great pride to me when a few months ago Sir Michael O'Dwyer said on the occasion of his farewell visit to my State that Patiala's war services were unsurpassed by any other State in India. It is, I believe, well known to Your Excellency that whereas before the

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war the Patiala State's contribution to the Indian Army was about 4,000 men, it was increased in the course of the war to 25,000 men. In money and material too my State has been able to serve the Empire by contributing about one crore and 35 lakhs of rupees. It is a matter of pride and pleasure to me that my men have been fortunate enough in having seen active service in nearly all the theatres of the war and have everywhere fought with traditional gallantry, winning as many as 125 battle distinctions.

I venture to hope that all my humble efforts in the cause of the Empire have not fallen short of the traditions of the Patiala State. I am not one of those who believe in mere words; I value deeds; and in all my efforts my earnest devotion to the King-Emperor has never been offered in a spirit of barter. When in April, 1918, came the Premier's stirring appeal I offered, as Your Excellency is aware, to raise three new battalions and subsequently when Your Excellency sent me the invitation to attend the Imperial War Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet as the representative of the Ruling Princes of India, I considered it as a great honour done to me and my State, and I accepted the invitation with great pleasure. It is not for me to say anything about my work on the Conference and the Cabinet. The facts are better known to Your Excellency. All I can say is that I hope I justified Your Excellency's selection. My visit to England was at a very critical time in the history of the war, and I was fortunate enough to have the unique experience of visiting early all the Allied fronts at a time when the doom of the enemy was about to be sealed. I remember with gratitude the uniform courtesy which was vouchsafed to me by His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, whose personal regard for the members of my Order is so well known. The Right Honourable the Premier and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India and my colleagues on the Imperial War Conference and the Cabinet were also very friendly and cordial. In the course of my short visit to the Allied friends I was honoured by the personal acquaintance of the President of the French Republic, of the King of the Belgians and the Sultan of Egypt, all of whom made me the recipient of high honours. Just after landing in England I had sent to my State and the people of India a message of hope, conveying the assurance that the crisis was past and that victory was near. This belief matured into conviction

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during the visits I paid to the various fronts and when, after acquiring a most valuable experience, I returned to my State last year I had no doubt whatever that the beginning of the end had come, and that very soon the happy news of victory would go forth to the world. How truly I had anticipated events was proved when only two months after my arrival in India the armistice was signed.

Your Excellency, peace has now come and having said good-bye to war work we are now face to face with the all-absorbing problems of peace. But, before I leave the subject, I wish to say how deep is my gratitude for all the help and advice, I have always received from Your Excellency during these years of stress and strain. The burden of State has been necessarily over severe, but Your Excellency has ever been patient, resourceful, full of tact and a source of inspiration to all those who sought your advice in the cause of the Empire. India has played a great part during the past five years, and that it has done so is in no small measure due to Your Excellency's ceaseless exertions on her behalf. The Princes and people of India are extremely grateful to you for all that you have done for them. You have helped India in occupying a higher and a prouder position among the nations of the world than before. It is no ordinary experience for India's soldiers to have fought shoulder to shoulder with men of all races and creeds. It is a great honour for India to have been given representation in the highest councils of the Empire, and India in general and my Order in particular feel happy that a representative of the Ruling Princes was a signatory to the Peace Treaty, the greatest and the most momentous document that the world has known. All this and the epoch-making Reforms which India has been promised are greatly due to that deep sympathy which Your Excellency evinces for the legitimate aspirations of the people of this country.

In this connection I would also refer to two other events now happily over; I mean the disturbances in the Punjab and the Afghan War. When the disturbances broke out the call of the Government of India found me ready with all my resources to help the Punjab Government, and as a result of the immediate steps taken in the way of protection of all means of communication, I am glad to be able to say



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that perfect tranquillity prevailed throughout my State and the adjoining British territory. In this connection my cordial thanks are due to General Hendley for his whole-hearted co-operation with me in the discharge of my onerous responsibility. I must also refer thankfully to the assistance I received from Mr. Casson and Colonel Elliot, Commissioner of Ambala. My thanks are also due to the Political Agents for their ready assistance to me, especially during the more strenuous period of the great war. When the Afghan War broke out my troops took the train within 12 hours after intimation had been received from the Political Agent. I volunteered my personal services and prevailed upon Your Excellency to accept them and to let me go to the front from which I returned when an armistice was asked for by the Amir. In these instances also India had the benefit of having a wise and experienced statesman like Your Excellency at the helm of her affairs.

War preoccupations have not prevented Your Excellency from giving your attention to other matters which now that the war is over will affect the destinies of India. The Reforms scheme of which Your Excellency is the joint author is a standing testimony to your sympathy, foresight, statesmanship and political acumen. The appointment of the Industrial Commission and the solicitude shown by Your Excellency in the country's industrial and commercial development are boons with which your name will always be gratefully associated. In our own way we have not been behind the times. Perhaps Your Excellency will be interested to hear a brief account of our activities other than those of the war during the last seven years, ever since Lord Hardinge's visit to Patiala in 1912. As Your Excellency is aware, it has always been my endeavour to improve the condition of my people and to help them in moral and material development. I have given my very special attention to education which I consider to be the most valuable asset that any State can possess. Primary and collegiate education is imparted absolutely free in the State and a liberal system of scholarships places higher education within the reach of even the poorest of my subjects. I have recently sanctioned Rs. 81,000 for opening a Science Department in the Mohindra College and I am anxious to see the introduction of commercial and technological education

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In the State. With the ultimate aim of associating my people in the higher councils of the State, I am introducing an element of representation in our Municipalities and District Boards and at my last birth-day darbar I announced the formation of a Cabinet consisting of myself as President and all my secretaries, whom I shall consult in important matters of administration. This is only a beginning, and as education progresses and my people prove their fitness I intend introducing further measures of reform in my State. The judicial system of the State has been reorganised and placed on a satisfactory basis. The revenue administration has also been similarly improving. The reform of the State police, which was undertaken with the help of Mr. Tomkins, has only recently been completed. From nearly 82 lakhs in 1912 the gross revenue of the State has gone up to over a crore and 17 lakhs. I have under consideration industrial, commercial and agricultural programmes, and a State bank was opened last year and is now doing useful work. A hydro-electric scheme for the Patiala State was referred to the Punjab Government in April last. It has since been considerably expanded and already in printed book form to be sent to the Punjab Government again. Under this scheme it is intended to harness the Sutlej river some 16 miles above the proposed Bhakra dam and by constructing a series of falls to generate electricity which it is estimated will give 135,000 horse-power. This power will be transmitted all over Patiala and used for lift irrigation by means of tube wells to irrigate an additional area of about 6½ lakhs of acres, as also for supplying motor power to the various existing and contemplated industries. In this scheme I hope I shall receive Your Excellency's sympathy and support. As Your Excellency knows, Patiala enjoys a variety of climate and soils which are particularly conducive to the development of different kinds of industries. An industrial survey is being carried on which will enable me to tap and develop our forest and mineral resources. The development of agriculture and urban co-operative credit societies is receiving my special attention. A beginning has already been made and now that the war is no longer an obstacle, this activity is sure to increase. A big railway programme is also under contemplation. All these are ambitious schemes, but I am determined that none of these will fail for lack of interest or exertion on my part.

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I am afraid I have taxed Your Excellencies' patience too long, but before I finish I consider it my pleasurable duty to refer to Her Excellency's noble part in the Great War. Like a ministering angel Her Excellency has shown great solicitude towards those brave men who were compelled to leave the field of battle with honourable scars. Equally solicitous has Her Excellency been of those soldiers who fighting for the Empire required comforts to make their lot less hard to bear. In organising women war work in India and in guiding all their various activities Her Excellency has shown an untiring zeal and energy which we all admire. Not only has Her Excellency done her very best in these directions, but her deep interest in the welfare of the women of India has manifested itself in a variety of ways, not the least important of which is the facility with which Her Excellency can speak Hindustani, a sure mark of her great sympathy with Indian women. And now I shall once more say how immense has been my pleasure in welcoming Your Excellencies and how thankful I am for this visit. Ladies and gentlemen, I will now ask you to fill up your glasses and drink enthusiastically to the most excellent of our distinguished guests, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Chelmsford.

His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I thank you all for the cordiality with which the toast of my health and that of Lady Chelmsford has been proposed and received, and I thank Your Highness in particular for your kind references to me personally, for the splendid reception which you have accorded to us and for the preparations which you have made for our comfort and entertainment. I appreciate very much all that has been done for us, and my only regret is that their absence on important duties elsewhere has robbed me of the expected privilege of seeing the famous Patiala Imperial Service Troops.

It has become an established practice that the Viceroy should pay a formal visit to Patiala during his term of office, and I assure Your Highness that it has been a very great

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pleasure to me to conform to precedent in this matter. It has been a pleasure to me for three principal reasons. In the first place, it has afforded me an opportunity of cementing my personal friendship with Your Highness as a guest in the house of a friend. Secondly, it gives me the opportunity of expressing publicly in Your Highness' capital the gratitude of His Imperial Majesty and of the Government of India for the personal services rendered by Your Highness and the members of your family in the Great War and in the war with Afghanistan; for the splendid deeds of the men of Patiala in many campaigns and in many countries, which, as Your Highness has with justifiable pride remarked, gained them 125 battle distinctions; and for the unstinted supply of men, money and material so ungrudgingly given by the State. To have increased your contribution of men for the Indian Army from 4,000 to 25,000 and to have supplied a crore and 35 lakhs of rupees for the Empire's needs is indeed a magnificent achievement.

I must particularly acknowledge the prompt and thorough measures taken by Your Highness to assist the Punjab Government during the recent disturbances and your ready help during the recent troubles on the Frontier. What you have done is an outward sign of that inward loyalty to the King-Emperor which inspires Your Highness, your subjects and the Sikh race. This loyalty has been manifested time and again, and was signally recognised by the selection of Your Highness to represent the Indian States at the Imperial Conference in London in 1917, where Your Highness' advice was of very great value.

Thirdly, my visit to Patiala has been a pleasure to me because it has given me fuller knowledge of the measures

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which Your Highness is taking for the improvement of the State and for the moral and material benefit of your subjects. Your Highness is well advised to introduce an element of representation on your Municipal and Local Boards, to constitute a body to advise you in important matters and to take in hand the reorganisation of the Judicial, Revenue and Police Departments. I learn that you are also contemplating reforms in the Departments of Finance and Canals and that the selection of competent men in the lower branches of the administration is receiving your careful consideration. The latter measure is of very great importance, because it is the lower officials who form the point of contact between the administration and the people, and on them depends its power for good or for evil.

The admirable educational and medical institutions which I have had the pleasure of seeing are evidence of Your Highness' solicitude for the good of your people. Charity begins at home, and the welfare and contentment of his subjects should be the first care, as it is the greatest responsibility, of a ruler.

Before concluding my remarks I wish to express my satisfaction at the cordiality of Your Highness' relations with Your Political Agent and with the British officers with whom you came into contact during the troubles of April. You may rest assured that you may always count on the assistance of the officers of the Punjab and of the Political Department whenever you may require them.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. I ask you to drink the toast of Major-General His Highness Sir Bhupindar Singh, Maharaja of Patiala. May His Highness be blessed with many years of health and happiness in which to maintain his high reputation as a loyal Prince within the Empire and a wise and sympathetic ruler of his people.

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CHIEFS' CONFERENCE AT DELHI, NOVEMBER 1919.

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs on the 3rd November in the Council Chamber. There was a large attendance of visitors, among whom were Lord Hunter and Members of the Disorders Enquiry Committee. About forty Ruling Princes and Chiefs attended, including several officers of the Political Department. His Excellency said:—

*Your Highnesses*,—This is the fourth occasion upon which I have had the honour to preside at your Conference. I find that I look forward each year with increased pleasure to our annual meetings, and I trust that Your Highnesses do the same. Apart from the really valuable work which we get through in our formal debates, there are opportunities which I greatly value for the renewal of old friendships and for the formation of fresh ones. Further, it is of particular advantage to a Viceroy to be able, from time to time, to exchange ideas with Princes who share with him and with the Provincial Governors the burden of rule in India. I am very glad to see so many of Your Highnesses present here to-day and I offer you a warm welcome on my own behalf and on behalf of the Government of India. I congratulate you heartily on the excellent rains that have fallen in your States, and I trust that a good agricultural year may be before you and that this and the Peace may be a prelude to an era of great prosperity. I deeply regret that several of our most distinguished members, including Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, have been prevented by ill-health from joining us on this occasion. We shall greatly miss their advice and co-operation.

At our meeting in January last, I referred to the losses which your Order had sustained. We had then to deplore the death of no less than six members of the Conference.

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This year, we have to mourn the loss of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bhavnagar and Ajaigarh and the Rajas of Sailana, Chamba and Suket. I have no doubt that Your Highnesses will all desire that the Conference should express its sympathy with the Ruling families.

In another matter, in which regret has no place, the Conference will be equally unanimous; I mean in according welcome to the Maharaja of Bikaner. We are all sincerely glad to see him among us again, both on personal grounds and because of the valuable contributions he can be relied upon to make to our discussions. This is not the time or the place to dwell on His Highness' services to India and the Empire, at the Imperial Conference in London and at the Peace Conference at Versailles. They are well known to us all. I will only state, what I am sure is the general opinion of the Conference, that the Indian States were fortunate in their representative, and are proud that his signature should have been placed on the Peace Treaty.

Since we last met one event has occurred of outstanding importance to the world, to the Empire and to India—the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Germany. I will not attempt to enumerate in detail the services rendered by the Indian Rulers and their contributions in men, money and material to the prosecution of the war and to the attainment of those ends which find their realisation in the treaty. But I do not wish to let this occasion pass without expressing once more the thanks of His Imperial Majesty and of the Government of India for the splendid part played by the Princes and Chiefs. I must thank Your Highnesses warmly also for the unanimity with which you placed your services

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and your resources at the disposal of Government for the Afghan War and I wish to acknowledge particularly the prompt and whole-hearted assistance rendered by the Princes of the Punjab in the suppression of the recent disorders in that Province. Your assistance and your offers of support have been of great value, both in themselves and as evidence of the solidarity of the Indian States with the Supreme Government.

The British Empire is now, by the mercy of the Almighty, at peace both in Europe and in the East, and tranquillity reigns in India, but that does not mean that there is no longer occasion for very special efforts on the part of Governments, Princes and people. The difficulties and dangers of peace are less patent than those of war, but they are on that account more difficult to cope with. The struggle lacks, too, the stimulus of open danger and the appeal of obvious patriotism. There is a new spirit abroad in the world, impatient of restraint, prone to look upon order as tyranny, prosperity as profiteering, and expensiveness of living as the result of maladministration. This spirit, embittered by high prices due partly to the failure of the last monsoon and partly to the diversion of the world's energies from production to destruction, excited by the downfall of great powers, and encouraged by secret and subtle propaganda, to think that anarchy means happiness and prosperity for all—this spirit is the most subtle and the greatest danger that has ever come upon mankind. The Indian States, perhaps also India as a whole, are less likely than Europe to be primarily assailed, but sooner or later we may all be forced to repel the attack, whether it come from without or within the body politic. The strongest weapon in the panoply of our defence



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'is good government which, while inspired with sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of the people, is resolute at all times in the maintenance of public order. By this means only can peace after war, safety after danger be secured. I most earnestly enjoin upon Your Highnesses to see to it that your armoury is well furnished in so far as concerns the portion of the Empire for which you are responsible. The Government of India have their own problems to deal with, in which it is not your principal part to give direct aid, although even outside your States you have much influence upon popular opinion, which, I am confident, you will exercise in the right direction. Your Highnesses can, however, lend invaluable assistance by ensuring that your States are places in which the lawless and malicious spirit is not tolerated, where lying stories find no favour, where the motives of the British Government are not misrepresented and where British rule is not held up to obloquy.

You will have difficulties to contend with in your own States. You cannot expect that the demands of the new after-war spirit for liberty and freedom from restraint will be confined to British India. Such demands, becoming more and more insistent, will make themselves heard in the Indian States. I know that several of Your Highnesses have been thinking very deeply about these questions and most of you must no doubt have felt that your States also must move with the times.

As to the lines on which progress is to take place, Your Highnesses must decide for yourselves with due regard to local circumstances and sentiment. You are Rulers in your States. But if you will allow me to offer you some words

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of advice, I would counsel you, in the first place, to determine that whatever measures of reform may be introduced shall be substantial. If you decide to extend your administrative structure, remember that what is needed is not a façade, however beautiful, but buildings in which men can live and work.

In the second place, I would advise you in planning additions, to maintain the fabric of your society, and preserve its substructure and its solid walls, pillars and towers. The rocks in which they are imbedded are the work of nature; the foundations were well and truly laid by your ancestors; time has proved the strength of the edifice. I urge you, therefore, to repair these, to develop their design, to add to them the convenience and freedom of our age, but not to demolish them. Do not believe that a brand-new modern building can compare as a place of safety, as a work of art or as a true expression of your life and the life of your people, with one which rests on nature's foundations, which has stood the test of centuries and which has grown with your race and embodies its spirit and its traditions. I should like to quote here a thoughtful remark which I read recently in a Durbar speech of a Central India Ruler. "We have to remember the extent of our conservatism and try to remove it without wounding the feelings of those who adhere to it and who have adhered to it through so many ages past." There is no reason why your nobles and *jagirdars* should not be in the future as they were when you first entered into possession of your State, the bulwarks of your rule, if you place your reliance upon them and educate them to work with you in your important task and if they on their part recognise that it is their duty to serve you with loyalty.

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I have dwelt at some length on subjects which are not directly connected with the business before the Conference, but I have done so because opportunities of meeting a representative body of the Princes and Chiefs are not very frequent and because I feel that we stand now at the meeting of the ways, where we need all our foresight, all our wisdom, to guide us in taking the right path. I should be failing you if I did not indicate what I thought might be useful to you in coming to a decision as to the path to choose and as to the arrangements for the journey.

I wish also to take this opportunity of impressing on Your Highnesses that the Government of India and my Political Officers will be ready at all times to advise you in the solution of the difficult problems before you, and to assure you that you may continue to rely on our friendly support in the introduction of measures for the benefit of your subjects and for the moral and material development of your States.

Turning to the questions with which we are more immediately and directly concerned, I should explain to Your Highnesses that early last May the Government of India addressed the Secretary of State regarding the resolutions passed by your Conference held in January of this year. We forwarded copies of the resolutions and of the proceedings and of the recorded opinions of the Princes. We made our recommendations and asked for the views of His Majesty's Government. I will proceed to communicate to Your Highnesses the decisions arrived at by the Government of India with the approval of His Majesty's Government on matters which have reached the stage of decision, the reasons

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on which the decisions are based and various considerations which may help in the solution of the questions which are still before the Conference.

I am glad to be able to announce to Your Highnesses the intention of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to call into being a permanent Chamber of Princes, although I must ask you to regard this announcement as merely a preliminary statement of intention. The formal establishment and recognition of the Chamber must be reserved for a later date, when the details of its constitution and functions have been worked out.

As regards that very important question, the position of the "demarcation line," Your Highnesses will remember that in my speech at the last Conference I said that Mr. Montagu and I felt that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list, as it stands, any fundamental distinction between the more important States and the remainder. It appeared to us that, if such a distinction were to be made, it must be based upon constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. We therefore recommended in our Report that the line should be so drawn as to separate Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. I said in my speech that, in my opinion, the essential question for classification purposes would appear to be whether a Ruler has normally the power to legislate for the welfare of his subjects and to conduct the administration without the intervention of British officials.

I learned, however, from the debates of the last Conference, and from the written memoranda forwarded by Rulers who

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were not present, that a marked divergence of opinion existed on the subject of the principle to be employed for effecting the division.

I do not propose to discuss critically the Resolution which Your Highnesses passed on Item I (1) of the Agenda of the last Conference, because if the solution which I am about to suggest commends itself to Your Highnesses, I think it would be a waste of time to do so. I will only say that, owing to the extreme difficulty of defining with precision the phrase "full powers of internal administration" and the embarrassment which must be caused by applying the test when formulated in individual cases, I am convinced that it would really be wisest, after all, to base the distinction primarily upon the salute list. The scheme which, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, I desire to propound for Your Highnesses' consideration, is as follows :—

*First*—that all States the Rulers of which enjoy permanent dynastic salutes of 11 guns or over should be entitled as of right to membership of the Chamber ;

*Second*—that States whose Rulers enjoy a dynastic salute of 9 guns, but have at present such full or practically full internal powers as to qualify them in other respects for admission to the Chamber should be so admitted ;

*Third*—that as regards those States whose Rulers possess a dynastic salute of 9 guns, but are not at present in possession of full or practically full internal powers, the Government of India should investigate each case and decide whether to grant

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the internal powers required in order to make the State qualified for admission to the Chamber.

I may add that, in my opinion, the necessary enhancement of powers should be granted in every case where no sufficient reason exists to the contrary, since it is of the highest importance that the question of admission to the Chamber should be dealt with on broad and generous lines, the deciding factor being the status of the particular State and not the personal qualifications of the Ruler for the time being.

I know that on the occasion of the last Conference, some of Your Highnesses, who claim feudatory rights over other Rulers, were apprehensive lest those rights might ultimately be affected by the inclusion of lesser States within the group formed by the dividing line. You added, on this account, a proviso to your Resolution to the effect that the removal of restrictions on the powers of a State and its consequent admission to the Chamber as a member should not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other State that can legitimately claim suzerainty over such State. I am entirely in accord with Your Highnesses as to the importance of maintaining the *status quo* in the matter of feudatory relations, and I think I may safely say that your proviso will be accepted by the Government of India. On the other hand, I am of opinion, and in this I think you will agree with me, that at the present stage and pending the final adjudication of particular claims to feudatory rights, no State whose qualifications for membership of the Chamber has to be scrutinised should be prejudiced as regards eligibility by the mere existence of an unestablished claim to feudatory rights which might, if admitted, limit the exercise by the Ruler

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of full or practically full internal powers and so disqualify him for membership.

In this connection, I must also reiterate what I said in my last speech, namely, that it would not, of course, be appropriate to regard mere payments originally of a tributary nature, made by one State to another, as necessarily constituting feudatory relations.

Next, I must allude to another point which has a very important bearing on the question of the dividing line. Your Highnesses will remember that, in my last speech, I said that Mr. Montagu and I felt that the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigation, in view of the anomalies which appeared to exist. If the principle, which I now advocate, is to be adopted as the basis of classification, it will be additionally desirable that this investigation should be undertaken at an early date, in order that anomalies, whether already existing or likely to ensue from the institution of the dividing line, should be corrected wherever possible. My Government are ready to give their earnest consideration to this matter and will make the necessary recommendations to the Secretary of State for submission to His Imperial Majesty in due course.

Assuming that the question of the dividing line is settled in the manner indicated above, the next problem for Your Highnesses' consideration relates to the representation in the Chamber of the interests of the lesser States whose Rulers have no salutes and do not possess full or practically full internal powers. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner very clearly explained the issue in paragraphs 19—22 of the Note which he sent in last year, though he did not suggest a plan

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for adoption. The Government of India are in complete accord with the view which seemed to be generally held in the Conference last year, namely, that some scheme ought to be devised whereby a reasonable and proportional representation of the lesser States may be secured in the Chamber, so as to enable them to have a voice in matters affecting their interests.

The question as to the best means for securing this result is one which needs to be fully weighed and discussed by Your Highnesses, and I will not attempt to prejudice your conclusions by offering suggestions at the present stage, although I shall be glad to help you in any way that I can to work out an effective scheme. If the scheme which I have briefly outlined above is acceptable to Your Highnesses, it would seem desirable that the Rulers of all States which are qualified for admission to the Chamber should be described as "Ruling Princes," the Rulers of the lesser States, whose interests will be represented in the Chamber, being described as "Ruling Chiefs;" and I propose to adopt this nomenclature.

I may add that it is the full intention of the Government of India that changes which may be introduced in the relations between the Government of India and the Princes, as, for instance, in regard to Commissions of Enquiry, Judicial Commissions, etc., shall be applicable, where this may seem appropriate and possible, to the lesser Rulers also.

As regards the functions of the Chamber and the Rules of Business which should regulate its procedure, I would remind Your Highnesses that although there is a strong and influential body of opinion in favour of the Chamber, yet at the time of the last Conference the Princes and Chiefs were not unanimous in their desire for the institution of a more formal



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assemblage than our annual meetings. The Chamber will have to justify its existence and win its spurs. I have expressed the view on more than one occasion that the Chamber must evolve gradually on lines which experience may show to be best suited to its healthy growth and that it is important to avoid unnecessary restrictions or complications at the outset.

The points which it is important to bear in mind are as follows :—

*First*—attendance and voting in the Chamber will be voluntary. Every Prince must decide for himself whether he will attend and take a share in the business, and although we may sincerely hope that abstentions will be few and that Your Highnesses will realise, in an increasing degree, the advantages of taking part in the deliberations, yet no pressure of any sort can be exercised.

*Second*—the Chamber will be a consultative and not an executive body. Resolutions passed by the Chamber must inevitably exercise influence on the relations of Government with Durbars not participating in the deliberations of the Chamber ; since such resolutions will be weighty contributions affecting the settlement of matters of common concern to the States, in which the final decision must rest with the Government of India. It will, however, be the particular concern of Government to safeguard the interest of the absent Rulers by ensuring that their views are elicited and duly weighed, and in this manner opportunity will always be afforded for Durbars concerned to place before the Government of India their recorded views on questions of

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importance that may come before the Chamber. It has hitherto been the practice to lay copies of such recorded views before the Conference (of course with the consent of the Durbars which have given utterance to them) and special provision should certainly be made for the continuance of this practice when the Chamber is constituted. Rulers who do not attend the meetings will thus be assured that their views receive full consideration from their brother Princes as well as from the Government of India.

*Third*—the direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State will not be prejudiced by the institution of the Chamber, since each individual State, whether represented in the Chamber or not, will maintain its right of direct communication with Government as heretofore. It will be necessary in this connection to provide specifically that the Chamber shall not discuss the internal affairs of any particular State or the actions of any individual Ruler.

With these observations I invite Your Highnesses to undertake the task of formulating your proposals for the institution of the Chamber.

In clause (b) of the Resolution passed by Your Highnesses on Agendum I (3) of the last Conference, the recommendation was made that the term "Narendra Mandal" (Chamber of Princes) should be adopted as the designation of the proposed body. It is possible that Your Highnesses may wish to make some alteration in this designation, if it is eventually decided.

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that Chiefs as well as Princes are to be included in the Chamber. If, however, Your Highnesses adhere to the recommendation and if I find that it meets with the concurrence of the Musalman Princes, the Government of India will readily agree to it.

The next question on the Agenda is the codification of political practice. Your Highnesses will remember that at the informal discussion held in February 1918, some of the Rulers complained, without specifying particular instances, that the Government of India had on occasions infringed Treaties and Engagements. As you are aware, the Durbars were invited to bring to notice any cases in which they considered that there had been a failure on the part of the British Government to fulfil Treaties and Engagements. In response, 18 States, including several of the more important, intimated that they had no complaint to make. Of the complaints which have been made a number are appeals against the decisions of Government in cases affecting the interests of particular States. Where there appears to be a justification for re-opening such disputes, recourse might suitably be had to the Commissions of Enquiry proposed in paragraph 308 of the Report on the Reforms Scheme. Many Durbars, however, contended that the political practice and usage of the past had encroached on the dignity and rights of Durbars, and was in conflict with the spirit of treaty relations. Copies of a list of 23 matters regarding which this allegation has been made will be distributed for Your Highnesses' information. The examination of some of the points summarised in the list was taken in hand last September by the Committee which Your Highnesses appointed. The conclusions which were then arrived at will be reported to you by the Committee.

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There is no doubt that with the growth of new conditions and the unification of India under the British Power, political doctrine has constantly developed. In the case of extra-territorial jurisdiction, railway and telegraph construction, limitation of armaments, coinage currency and opium policy, and the administration of cantonments, to give some of the more salient instances, the relations between many States and the Imperial Government have been changed. The change, however, has come about in the interests of India as a whole, and I need hardly say that there has been no deliberate wish to curtail the powers of Princes and Chiefs. We cannot deny, however, that the treaty position has been affected, and that a body of usage, in some cases arbitrary, but always benevolent, has insensibly come into being. Some of Your Highnesses have therefore asked that the Durbars should for the future have a voice in the formulation of political practice. The Government of India, entirely concur in the justice of this claim, and with the approval of His Majesty's Government have decided to accede to your request, in regard to that portion of our political doctrine which can be expressed in the form of general principles, in so far as it is based on considerations other than treaty rights. From the point of view of Government also it cannot but be of the greatest advantage that decisions as to political practice which may have a bearing on the States' prerogatives should be taken after formal and collective discussion with Rulers. We have come to this conclusion with the reservation that the Paramount Power retains the right of ultimate decision with regard to the principles to be adopted and with regard to the extent of their application. We cannot anticipate that we shall always be in absolute agreement, but we believe that, generally

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speaking, opposition has been in many cases directed rather at the form in which doctrines are set forth than at their substance, and we feel that you will in future view them in a new light when the reasons on which they are based and the economic inter-dependence of British India and the States are frankly explained to you. The Committee, which sat in September, has had the advice and assistance of the Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes and various officers from the Secretariat and Administrative Departments of the Government of India to explain questions concerning telegraphs, telephones, currency and mining concessions which had afforded occasion for the development of new principles.

Lastly, with regard to the procedure to be followed in examining the question of codification of political practice, I understand that there has been a difference of opinion, some members of the Committee inclining to the deductive, others to the inductive, method—that is to say, the question is whether we should scrutinise and test our practice and procedure in the light of general principles to be abstracted from the body of the Treaties and Engagements, in the hope of thus defining the true position of the States *vis-à-vis* the Government of India or whether we should endeavour to derive principles from the body of case law which has grown up. The latter method was provisionally adopted by the Committee, which met in September, but it was adopted on the understanding that it should not prejudice resort to the deductive method at a later stage, if this seemed to be required.

It is a pleasure to me to be able to inform Your Highnesses of the intention of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government to adopt your proposals for the

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appointment of a Standing Committee. In this matter as in the case of the Permanent Chamber, a more formal pronouncement will be made at a later date. In clause (b) of the Resolution passed on the subject by the last Conference Your Highnesses made proposals in regard to the constitution of the Standing Committee. These proposals may perhaps be the subject of further discussion during the present meeting, so that I will say nothing in regard to them at present. In clause (c) of the Resolution, Your Highnesses recommended that the Committee should be competent to initiate questions affecting Indian States generally or of common interest to India as a whole, either of their own accord or at the direction of the Chamber of Princes, for the consideration of the Viceroy. You also recommended in clause (d) that the Agenda for the Chamber should be decided in consultation with the Committee.

The Government of India accept these recommendations but I desire to make it clearly understood that the Committee's initiative is restricted absolutely to matters of common concern to the States in general. We should, I think, bear in mind that the real function of the Standing Committee is to continue the work of the Permanent Committee engaged on the codification of political practice. Provision for the interests of individual States and Rulers is made for them in the Commissions of Enquiry and Courts of Arbitration to which I will allude at a later stage. In this connection I would, however, add that these remarks are not applicable to the suggestions made by some of the Central India Durbars for the constitution of local committees for the settlement of local disputes. The matter is not now before the Conference for consideration, but I take this opportunity of informing the Durbars concerned that the suggestion has not been lost sight of.

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In the matter of Commissions of Enquiry I will remind Your Highnesses that the original draft proposal framed at the informal discussion at Delhi in 1918 provided for the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry in regard to two descriptions of cases. The first related to the settlement of disputes between the Government of India, or any Local Government, and a State, or between one State and another, or to the decision of cases in which a State is dissatisfied with the ruling or advice of the Government of India or their local representative. The second contemplated the tender of advice to the Government of India when questions arise of depriving the Ruler of an important State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring a member of his family from succession. The Government of India, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, have decided to differentiate the appellations of the Commissions convened for these two purposes in accordance with the Resolution passed on the subject at the last Conference. The term "Court of Arbitration" will be given to Commissions of the first kind and the term "Commission of Enquiry" to those of the second kind.

The Government of India are unable to accept the recommendation made in the first part of the Resolution passed by the last Conference on the subject of the Court of Arbitration, namely, that His Excellency the Viceroy before rejecting the request of any party for a Commission of Enquiry should invite the opinion of the Standing Committee on this point, and that, when the request comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained. The Government of India regard it as of the greatest importance that, as proposed in paragraph 307 of the Reforms Report, the Standing Committee should refrain from considering or offering advice in regard to

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questions affecting any individual State or Ruler unless on the invitation of the Viceroy, who would only refer to the Committee with the concurrence of the Durbar concerned and if he considered that such a reference would be helpful. Similarly, the Government of India are unable to agree to the stipulation that when the request for a Court of Arbitration comes from both parties, it should be favourably entertained by the Viceroy, since although it would be in the highest degree unlikely that His Excellency would reject such a request, it is nevertheless desirable that he should retain discretion to do so.

The Government of India accept both the suggestions made in the Resolution passed by the last Conference on Agendum I (6), namely,—

(a) that it should be made clear that the party concerned, on the names of the proposed Commissioners being intimated to him, will have the right of challenging the nomination of any of the Commissioners, this right to be exercised only once; and

(b) that the machinery proposed should not be put in motion if the Ruler of the State concerned himself prefers the question to be decided by the Government without a Commission of Enquiry.

When circumstances arise in an important State such as would be dealt with by a Commission of Enquiry, a Commission of Enquiry will invariably be appointed, unless the Ruler of the State concerned prefers that the Government of India should come to a decision without the appointment



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of a Commission. It must be understood, of course, that the right of challenge will apply to each original nominee, but not to the person substituted for each nominee challenged.

The question of the establishment of more direct relations between the States and the Government of India has not been lost sight of. I described, in my address to Your Highnesses in January, the general views of the Government of India on the question, the advantages and disadvantages of introducing changes of the kind proposed and the difficulties in the path. These points were communicated at length to the Secretary of State, who has signified the general concurrence of His Majesty's Government in our views and His Majesty's Government, equally with the Government of India, are anxious that early progress should be made with the scheme. Very great difficulties and complexities are, however, involved in its introduction, and I cannot do more than ask Your Highnesses to accept my assurance that time is not being lost in inaction. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab proposes to discuss the subject with the Punjab Rulers concerned during the ensuing cold weather, and I have arranged with the Bombay Government that a special investigation shall be commenced at an early date in that Presidency as a preliminary to further consideration of the scheme as affecting the Bombay States.

The question of straightening the channel of communication with States which are in direct political relations with the Central Government, such as those in Rajputana and Central India, is also being carefully considered.

As regards the question of vital statistics, which has been placed on the Agenda, I propose to say a few words to Your Highnesses later.

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As regards item (iv) of the Agenda, the question of the desirability of co-operation in matters of public health, I feel that no useful purpose would be served by adding anything to the memorandum which has been placed before Your Highnesses.

It is unnecessary for me to make any remarks regarding item (v) of the Agenda.

It is satisfactory that Your Highnesses are considering the question of the future organisation of the Imperial Service Troops. The Government of India regard the matter as being of the highest importance and I am sure that Your Highnesses will concur in this. I trust that your deliberations with the military authorities will be productive of good results.

I commend to Your Highnesses' earnest consideration the desirability of adopting measures for the encouragement of horse-breeding in your States. The matter is one of Imperial concern, and I hope that the Government of India may rely upon the co-operation of those Durbars whose territories are suitable for the breeding of horses. You may count on the expert advice of General Templer, the Director-General of the Army Remount Department, who has the matter much at heart.

Connected with this subject is the adoption of preventive measures against the spread of *surra* in Indian States. I hope that your deliberations with Colonel Farmer will be productive of a joint system to combat the disease.

I trust that your discussions with Dr. Hayden, the Director of the Geological Survey of India, may have convinced Your

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Highnesses that it is equally in the interests of your States and of India as a whole that grants of mineral concessions in your States should not be made without careful scrutiny. The question was discussed at length by the Committee appointed by Your Highnesses, which sat last September at Simla, and you will no doubt give your careful attention to the recommendations made by them.

Your Highnesses will remember that in the Session of 1917 certain resolutions were adopted regarding statistics, especially in regard to the production and distribution of food and raw materials. Events have taught us the great importance of accurate statistics in assisting administration and in the solution of those economic problems which now confront the world. The result of the resolutions to which I have just referred has been very satisfactory, and the co-operation of the States has brought the agricultural statistics of India on to a new plane. Last year a class of instruction was for the first time held in Calcutta, and was attended by representatives from Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore and other States. It proved so successful that it will be held again this year, and I understand that officials from the Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, Gwalior and Bundi States have again been nominated to attend the Instructional Class to be held this month. Since the Conference His Exalted Highness the Nizam has appointed a Director of Statistics for Hyderabad.

I fear I have detained Your Highnesses for a long time, and you may think I have gone into unnecessary detail. But I have spoken at length deliberately, thinking it desirable that you should have before you a comprehensive survey of the situation as it now stands.

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Looking back on the progress made since the inception of the Conference scheme, I think we may congratulate ourselves on what has been achieved. We must not be impatient if at times our progress may seem slow. Remember the old saying that "that to which time has not been a party, time will not ratify." Progress is not to be judged only by the quantity of the resolutions passed and the decisions taken, or even by their quality. We must look deeper and higher than this. We are engaged in the designing and erection of an edifice intended to endure for many years. The success of a building, whether the test be its durability, its convenience or its beauty, depends not only on the solidity of its foundation, the quality of the material used and the skill of the workmen employed, but on the spirit which inspires the architects who make the plans. In our building enterprise, are we, the architects, inspired by a spirit which will guide us to success? The answer, in my opinion, is emphatically "yes." It is "yes," because we have begun in the spirit of candour, loyalty, liberality and goodwill. I am sure that if this spirit guides us till our task is done, when we reach the end we shall be able to say "we have done well."

It only remains for me to convey to you, at the express desire of His Majesty's Secretary of State, his cordial wishes for the success of the Conference.

**CONCLUSION OF THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE AT DELHI.**

The following speech was delivered by His Highness the Maharaja 8th November 1919.  
of Gwalior on the closing day of the Ruling Chiefs' Conference :—

*Your Excellency*,—On behalf of my brother Princes and myself I take this opportunity, on the last day of the session, to offer a few

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observations—some of a general nature, others that bear upon the happenings of the last few days.

But before I do so, we wish to offer our cordial thanks for the great sympathy and courtesy with which the business of the session has been conducted by Your Excellency. We heartily reciprocate the sentiment that these annual meetings afford a welcome occasion for the renewal of our friendship with you and, I may say, with the distinguished officers of your Government, and for the formation of new friendships between Your Excellency and these officers and such members of our Order as attend the Conference for the first time.

As Your Excellency very appropriately remarked, our pleasure on the present occasion is tempered with genuine sorrow. We join with Your Excellency in deploring the demise of Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Bhavnagar and Ajaigarh and the Rajas of Sailana, Chamba and Suket. Our hearts go out in sympathy to the bereaved Ruling families and we trust that they will accept from us this public expression of our condolences.

We share also Your Excellency's sense of regret at the absence of Their Highnesses the Begum of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Jaipur. Both have unfortunately been prevented from attending the Conference on account of ill-health. Her Highness has shown her genuine interest in the problems of construction which we have been tackling by deputing her son while the Maharaja of Jaipur, in expressing his regret at his inability to attend, has written to the Honorary General Secretary as follows :—

“ I sincerely hope that the Government of India and my brother Princes will not misunderstand my absence from the very important session of the Conference. They all know full well my entire sympathy with the object of this annual gathering to discuss and settle questions of vital importance in which the Government of India and the Princes are interested. ”

We regret no less the absence of other familiar faces. We regret their absence all the more, inasmuch as their advice and suggestions,

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whether at our informal meetings or in this Conference, are regarded by us as of the greatest assistance.

Turning now to a pleasant topic, I would dwell for a moment upon the services of my valued friend and brother—His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner—services of considerable value which he rendered to the Empire, to India and to our Order, as a member of the Imperial Conference in London and of the Peace Conference at Versailles. The language of genuine appreciation is never effusive, and I would merely say that His Highness has not only established a claim upon our gratitude but, what is far more important, he has done credit to our Order.

The great war threw a searchlight over our resources which were, of course, limited : but we hope that the services rendered by the Indian States proved to the world at large that the loyalty to the British Throne and the determination to give practical shape to that loyalty, which lie behind those resources, are indeed unlimited. We maintain, however, that His Highness in a sense did more than this. He acquitted himself so creditably in the discharge of the onerous and responsible duties entrusted to him by His Majesty's Government that it was revealed to the countries of Europe and beyond what capacity the members of our Order possessed, and we trust their representatives were impressed with the feeling that the Princes of India constituted a body whose interests deserve consideration.

While on the subject of our services during the war, I must not omit to make our grateful acknowledgments for the handsome manner in which Your Excellency has referred to them. May we ask that our gratefulness for His Royal appreciation, coupled with assurances of our abiding loyalty and attachment, may be communicated to His Imperial Majesty in words of Your Excellency's choice, as doubtless they will be far more appropriate and worthy of the occasion than any that we could suggest.

We would also ask Your Excellency to accept our thanks for the meed of praise which you have paid us on behalf of yourself personally and your Government.

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Before I finish with the subject of the war, I would like to express our profound admiration, in which, we are sure, Your Excellency would join, for that veteran soldier—Maharaja, better known as His Highness Sir Pertap Singh. Many young men and ardent spirits of our Order gave proof of the martial spirit which is alive in them by hastening to the battlefields of Europe at the call of our beloved Emperor. While this was creditable, it was also just what was expected of them. To Maharaja Pertap Singh belongs the credit of demonstrating an utter disregard of the handicap of advancing years. Keen soldier as he is, I am sure, he would like me to speak more colloquially than formally in referring to his patriotic action. I therefore say, with the authority of all the members of our Order, that we admire the way in which he “stuck it out like a man” for nearly the whole duration of the war.

I would now come on to certain words of wholesome advice and exhortation which Your Excellency addressed to us in the course of your inaugural speech.

We thank Your Excellency for your solicitude on our behalf and for inviting our co-operation in the maintenance of law and order. So far as our States are concerned, we feel no hesitation in saying that they can never become *alsatias* for people of evil disposition. The temper, and therefore the attitude, of our people is born of sentiments hallowed by traditions and sanctified by religion, and it is not possible for them to believe that there can be any conflict of interests between them and us. It is this bed-rock of inborn affection which underlies our relations,—affection that is prompted by real sympathy and an equally real desire for the advancement of all their interests. Therefore we feel proud that Your Excellency should look to us for co-operation in ensuring peace within the borders of India; and if at any time our assistance should be sought in any emergency affecting the whole country, especially one arising from causes within, we should always be ready to place at Your Excellency's disposal the advice or assistance which our experience suggested, always remembering that man proposes and God disposes.

We thank Your Excellency for inviting our attention to the dangers of the new spirit which we believe is in the main the outcome of the

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economic revolution which has taken place in the world, within recent years, at a rapid pace. We venture to think that the underlying cause of the varied demands of the peoples all the world over is essentially more economic than otherwise. This is a state of affairs which is beyond our control and which we can only partially remedy. As for matters of administration, we look forward to the day when our people could render us substantial relief from the responsibility of supplying personal guidance in matters of detail.

This is our position : and it is because we want to rise equal to our responsibilities that we are insistently troubling the Government for the creation of conditions in which our resources could be developed for the benefit of our people and our administrations rendered efficient towards a similar end.

Your Excellency's allusion to the Jagirdars' problem in our States is indeed very gratifying. We do want them to be the bulwarks of our rule and we are labouring to make them so. If at times we have appeared to be harsh in dealing with them, it has been the harshness of a parent towards an erring child and, where such harshness has been employed, it has unfortunately been occasioned by waywardness which was not natural to these hereditary associates of ours.

I now come to those announcements in Your Excellency's speech that call for unqualified gratefulness on our parts.

First of all, we are deeply grateful to His Majesty's Government and, more particularly, to Your Excellency and Mr. Montagu for the assurance that, after the necessary preliminaries have been settled, the Chamber of Princes will be instituted. Equally grateful are we for the promise to constitute a Standing Committee, and for the assurance in regard to the appointment of Commissions of Enquiry and Courts of Arbitration.

As regards Courts of Arbitration, we have no doubt that it is for the best of reasons that Your Excellency has seen fit to retain discretion as regards appointing or refusing to appoint them ; even when both parties concerned in a case are agreed upon asking for one. We imagine, however, that the cases wherein assent would be withheld would be very rare indeed and that it would only be in very special circumstances.



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The scheme propounded by Your Excellency for the composition of the Chamber is so comprehensive as to embrace the various interests. This is not only expedient but just: and when the stage of misgiving, which is incidental to all innovations, is passed, it will most probably be recognised as entirely satisfactory. It may, however, be necessary to examine the relative positions of States in certain provinces and to effect adjustment of relations *inter se*, as some of these relations are based upon the varying histories of States in particular local areas. One aspect of this problem of adjustment is happily settled already by the assurance, *viz.*,—

“that the removal of restrictions on the powers of a State and its consequent admission to the Chamber as a member would not in any manner or to any extent impair or prejudice the rights of any other State that can legitimately claim suzerainty over such State”

assuming that the latter is able to establish its claim to feudatory rights over the former.

In any case we think that the attitude which should characterise all members of the future Chamber should be one of keenness to solve the problems common to the Imperial Government and the States or common to themselves. It would not be fair on the part of any one to use his membership of the Chamber as a lever for personal elevation, and we feel sure that such efforts, which are extremely improbable, will find no countenance from the Imperial Government.

In returning thanks for the practical proposals announced, we must not fail to express due appreciation of the decision to employ, in the future, differentiating phraseology, namely, “Ruling Princes” and “Ruling Chiefs,” in the description of the more important and the lesser Rulers. In India the importance of dignified phraseology cannot be overstated. It is the measure of peoples’ estimation of those whom they address. It will thus be perceived how easily hearts may be won or mortal offence given by care or the want of it in the selection of language.

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The assurance, too, is immensely gladdening that the application of the deductive method to the scrutiny and test of practice and procedure in the light of general principles to be abstracted from the body of the treaties and engagements may proceed. We trust that this process will be allowed to continue until all such States as desire such examination of their treaties are satisfied that it has been thoroughly done.

No less satisfying is the eminently just decision that in future, political practice, which may have a bearing on the States' prerogatives, would be framed after formal and collective discussion with the Ruling Princes.

In alluding to the functions of the Chamber, Your Excellency referred to the divergence of views that existed last year as regards the institution of a more formal assemblage. We feel that, as the objects of the Chamber and the use to which it might be put in the common interests of the Empire and the States come to be better appreciated and apprehensions are thus gradually allayed and when it is more clearly realised that the Chamber is not going to prove the means of the lowering of the position of any individual State, that those who have held aloof so far may feel justified in reconsidering their decision.

In any case the provision that attendance and voting in the Chamber will be purely voluntary is a wise one.

Pleasanter than the task of expressing thanks for the preliminary assurance in regard to the constitution of the Chamber is the duty of expressing our gratefulness for the frank manner in which the admission has been made that a body of usage, in some cases arbitrary, has come into being and has affected the treaty position of the States. We have no doubt whatever that the Government of India, in permitting such usage to grow up, were prompted by benevolent intentions. The benevolence of the Government of India's intentions and their eagerness to foster the interests of the States is proved beyond question by the readiness with which Your Excellency has agreed to alter adverse usage generally and particularly, so as to make it consonant with the spirit of our treaties. All this confirms us in our anticipations. We always felt that our difficulties had only to be brought to light to

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be promptly removed and replaced by a set of conditions in which our progress would be rapid consistently with being solid.

We cannot be too grateful for the goodwill towards us by which the British Government are inspired, and we recognise, with due gratitude, their unflinching determination to assist us in every way.

We do not claim that our administrations are yet perfect: we do not even say that they ever will be, for we believe that no administration or, for that matter, no institution that is devised by the wit or ingenuity of man, will ever be perfect. There is room for improvement always and, happily for human society, there are always both the disposition and the incentive to improve. All we ask for is to be encouraged in this disposition and that our ambition to improve should have free play under the watchful eye of the British Government—nurtured by their kindly assistance and guided by the experience of their wider outlook. This may occasionally mean that we would buy our own experience, but even that cannot really do much serious harm. We feel that the statesmanlike policy of meeting situations as they arise, which has been so consistently followed by Your Excellency, will soon result in the attainment of all our aspirations, and this happy result will, we hope, supply an enduring justification of Your Excellency's sympathetic policy.

Be that as it may, one thing is certain, and that is, that when the States have bought their own experience, if they must, and thoroughly learnt what they have to learn, which they never will unless enabled, they will be of greater help to the British Empire than ever. Specially important is the matter of accelerating the industrial and economic improvement of the States; so that in times of emergency, like that of the recent war, the Imperial Government may find our resources fully developed and available for effective use. The increase of our power in every direction will mean an accession of strength to the already strong arm of the British Government against the hostile designs of all envious intriguers—not to say that the ample development of our own resources, agricultural, industrial, etc., must greatly contribute towards making our country economically self-reliant.

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Finally, we may say that we await with very great eagerness the introduction of the scheme to bring the States into direct or closer relations with the Government of India, and hope that its consummation will come before 1919 has run out. It may look as if we are in too great a hurry and do not appreciate the difficulties which the Imperial Government must face in working out such a scheme satisfactorily in all its aspects. We, however, feel sure that it will be realised that what seems to be our impatience is only the measure of the importance that we attach to the introduction of the revised system.

It only remains for me now to express our gratitude for the very welcome assurance which Your Excellency gave us on the 5th of November, that, God willing, next year we shall meet, not as the Conference, but as the Chamber of Princes—a consummation which we most earnestly desire.

Last but not least, in response to the kind message from the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State, which Your Excellency conveyed to us as a happy ending to your inaugural address, we request you to assure him of our unfaltering faith in his warm sympathy for us and in his determination to promote the interests of our Order. It will be our endeavour to make the Chamber of Princes a lasting monument to the sagacity of Your Excellency and the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu.

His Excellency the Viceroy in closing the Conference said —

*Your Highnesses*,—In the remarks which I made three days ago, I expressed my views on some of the most important items on the agenda which you have been discussing in Conference, and I have very little to add to what I then said.

I thank Your Highnesses for the reply which His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior has just made to the address which I delivered at the opening of this Conference.

In the light of experience gained during this Conference, we may unhesitatingly conclude that the suggestion made by the Maharaja Scindia for the prolongation of the period of our

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deliberations was a wise one, since it would not have been possible to complete the important task before Your Highnesses in a shorter time.

I congratulate you on the real progress which has been achieved, and I trust that what you have done will bear fruit in the near future in the establishment of the Chamber of Princes, and in the setting up of machinery which will systematise and simplify the relations between the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and the Government of India.

I am sure that Your Highnesses realise as vividly as I do that a great deal of serious work remains to be done before the Chamber comes into being, and in this work the co-operation of the Committee appointed by Your Highnesses will be a vital factor.

I can assure you that on our part nothing will be left undone in order to bring about the desired result, and I am equally convinced that those of Your Highnesses who have been appointed on the Committee will spare no pains and grudge no expenditure of time in answer to calls that may be made upon them.

Your Highnesses will forgive me if I take this opportunity of dealing with another matter of public interest though not directly affecting Your Highnesses. I have always made a rule of ignoring attacks made in the Press, but I must make an exception in the case of an article in the *Times* cabled out by Reuter. A summary which appeared yesterday contained the following passage :—

“ Earl Curzon’s statement that vital letter of Sir Hamilton Grant, by which Government relinquished control of external affairs of Afghanistan was

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not kept back, was erroneous. Letter was not only withheld from public for some days, but was not even received by Mr. Montagu until day after text of treaty had reached London. Whole episode, says *Times*, is in keeping with policy of evasion which too often marks action of present Government of India."

I do not propose to deal with the question of policy embodied in that letter of Sir Hamilton Grant, beyond saying this, that we deliberately turned our backs on the past policy of attempting to control Afghan foreign relations through a paper condition. The aim of our policy is, to quote Lord Curzon's recent speech in the House of Lords as summarised by Reuter,—

"Some arrangement with the Afghan Government which would differ in many important respects from the preceding arrangements, but which would give us what was really solely the essential thing, namely, a neighbour on the frontier who was friendly and loyal to Britain and with whom we could live in the future amicably."

If we secure this result, it connotes that Afghanistan's foreign relations will be such as to have our approval. Till we are satisfied that Afghanistan's foreign relations are such as meet our approval, the second chapter containing the treaty of friendship will not be written.

But what I wish to refer to, more particularly to-day, is not the wisdom or unwisdom of my conduct of our foreign affairs, but the charge of a policy of evasion which is made

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against my Government. Here again, if the charge had been couched in general terms, I would have ignored it, because it is obviously unprofitable to bandy argument over a question which must largely be a matter of opinion. In this case, however, it is coupled with the concrete accusation that we had withheld Sir Hamilton's letter, not only from the public for some days, but even from the Secretary of State until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. Now this allegation can obviously only be based on conjecture, for the Secretary of State alone could inform the *Times* of the facts, and no one is more punctilious than Mr. Montagu in such matters.

Let me give one or two dates which will, I hope, dispose of this matter. I find that I communicated the terms of the proposed letter to the Secretary of State by telegram on the 4th of August. It presumably reached him either on the 4th of August, or on the 5th, as I received his reply on the 6th of August. The treaty was signed on the 8th of August, and the actual text of the letter, as delivered to the Afghans, was telegraphed the next day. It is said that the letter was not even received by the Secretary of State until the day after the text of the treaty had reached London. It must be obvious that with the best will in the world and with the most efficient cable system the text of a letter delivered with a treaty of peace on the 8th of August could not have reached London more expeditiously. And, moreover, the substance of the letter, as actually delivered to the Afghan delegates, was contained in my telegram to the Secretary of State of August 4th to which I have referred above.

Your Highnesses, this is a matter which can be of little interest to you, and I hope you will forgive me for introducing

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this subject into my speech, but I felt that I had to take the earliest opportunity of dealing with a matter which so closely affected my honour.

It only remains for me to wish Your Highnesses farewell and God-speed, and to say that I hope that, when we meet again, I may have the pleasure of welcoming not only Your Highnesses who are present to-day but also many other members of your Order.

#### LUCKNOW MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

Their Excellencies and Staff arrived at Lucknow on the morning 17th November of the 17th November. The Address from the Municipal Board was presented at the station, and in replying His Excellency said :—

*Gentlemen*,—On this day 62 years ago the distressed garrison of Lucknow was relieved by Sir Colin Campbell. The thought brings to our minds a picture of a gallant band, British and Indian, standing staunch in comradeship under the banner of England till at last the dawn of that distant November day brought them a happy issue from their sufferings and a glory which still lives. For myself I have a personal interest in this anniversary inasmuch as my aunt, Lady Inglis, the wife of Sir John Inglis, the Commander of the original garrison after the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, was one of those rescued. The coincidence, then, enhances the pleasure I have long anticipated of visiting your world-famed city, and I thank you very warmly, both on my own behalf and on behalf of Lady Chelmsford, for the cordial welcome you have extended to us.

It is seven years since my predecessor, Lord Hardinge, paid you a visit and during the interval you have not been



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idle. You have, you tell me, carried out all the improvements which were then in contemplation. Such a record of performance in the interval between the visit of one Viceroy and that of his successor is in my experience unique, for I have become sadly accustomed to finding that the high aims and laudable intentions which deck out a municipal address have a tendency to recur in a kind of quinquennial rotation, and it is certainly unusual to find them translated into aims achieved and intentions fulfilled with such praiseworthy rapidity as here in Lucknow. You may well be proud of your progress and, having at one time played a part myself in the municipal affairs of a great city, I am not surprised to learn that your appetite for improvement has been whetted by your achievements and that new and ambitious schemes now engage your attention.

I have perused with great interest the report of the Committee appointed to consider the further improvement of your city. The suggestions therein made seem to me to be broadly conceived and to offer a wide field for the activities of your Improvement Trust. The lay-out for the proposed University is a particularly striking feature of the report.

You allude to a University as one of the great needs of Lucknow and I understand that a Committee will shortly be appointed to examine the question. It would be inappropriate for me to offer any remarks on the subject at this stage, but I would assure you that any well-considered scheme put forward by the Committee will have my earnest and sympathetic consideration.

Your other educational projects include a Shia and a Kshatriya College and the introduction of compulsory

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primary education. The needs of the Shia and Kshatriya communities at Lucknow need not be emphasised and I am glad to learn that they have not been overlooked.

The spread of primary education is one of India's greatest needs. Other considerations apart, it will hasten and facilitate that industrial and economic development of the country to which it was my hope, when I became Viceroy, that my best energies would be directed. But meanwhile the war has given an immense impetus to India's industrial activities and has revealed to the people of this country far better than any efforts of mine or of my Government could have done the vast potential riches which India possesses. The experience we have gained has been of inestimable value to us and we are fast putting together the machinery by which we hope to accelerate India's new industrial expansion. If then you carry out your proposal to introduce primary education, you will be securing for your humblest citizens an opportunity of playing their part in India's industrial age.

I note with regret that the condition of your finances is not altogether satisfactory. Here you are no longer unique, for you sound a note already familiar to me in municipal addresses. While you continue to effect improvements on a large scale you will no doubt be justified in asking for assistance from Government, but do not let this divert your attention from the very important problem of developing your own internal resources. Believe me, it is not healthy for a municipality to be always looking to Government for doles. The basis of true municipal development lies in the readiness and the ability of the citizens to bear the burden of local taxation. I am sure your pride in your splendid city would be less, and

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the admiration of the stranger within your gates would be impaired, if it were felt that you were in any sense a charitable institution. Government is in favour of the abolition of octroi and the substitution of a terminal tax, and I understand that a measure of this kind has already been adopted elsewhere in your province. You may also find it well to consider the possibility of introducing a house-tax, which is perhaps the simplest and fairest form of municipal assessment. There may be difficulties in the way of revising your taxation, but difficulties are made to be overcome, and however ambitious, however efficient a Board may be, it must find itself impotent unless its local resources are developed and exploited.

The question of a Chief Court for Oudh has long been a subject of discussion between the Local Government and the Government of India. I understand that the Local Government is about to raise the question once more, and I trust that this time a solution satisfactory to all parties will be reached.

You have referred to the subject of Child Welfare. You perhaps know that it is a subject in which Lady Chelmsford is actively interested, and I may assure you of her and of my own sympathy with this important movement. An Association has been started in Delhi for the provision of Health Visitors and Maternity Supervisors, and it is proposed to hold an Exhibition in Delhi next February for promoting the cause of Child Welfare. I need hardly point out the importance of employing really well-trained, well-paid supervisors if the movement is to be successful, and in this respect the Association at Delhi may be able to assist you as they have started an establishment for technical training.

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There is one most simple and practical form of assistance to the health and welfare of young people which you should keep constantly before you. It is the provision of open spaces and playing fields. The report of the Improvement Committee contains sound recommendations for your guidance on this subject, and if you are wise you will miss no opportunity of expanding the lungs of your crowded city areas.

I am pleased to learn that the members of your Board, under the capable direction of a non-official Chairman, are working in harmony with one another, irrespective of creed, and with the Local Government and its representatives. It is also gratifying to me to note the generous terms in which you express your debt of gratitude to Sir Harcourt Butler, your Lieutenant-Governor, to your late official Chairman and the present Chairman of the Improvement Trust and to your late Vice-Chairman Rai Ganga Prasad Verma Bahadur.

I would also take this opportunity of congratulating your province on the signal honour which His Majesty the King-Emperor has recently conferred on your former Lieutenant-Governor, Lord Meston. For six years he administered with distinction the affairs of your province with which he has been connected since 1885, and he not only won universal esteem by his sane judgment and sense of public duty, but also endeared himself to all hearts by the charm of his personality. By his retirement India loses a devoted and distinguished servant and I, in addition, a warm personal friend. It must be a source of gratification to you that he is the second Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces who has won this outstanding honour.

*Address from the ex-Royal Family of Oudh.*

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me express the hope that your Board will continue in the future, as it has proved itself in the past, a vigorous and beneficent institution, and let me assure you that I shall always be interested to hear of the prosperity and development of this fascinating city.

ADDRESS FROM THE *EX-ROYAL* FAMILY OF OUDH.

18th Nov- His Excellency the Viceroy received an Address of Welcome from  
ember 1919. the members of the *ex-Royal Family* of Oudh at Lucknow on the 18th November to which His Excellency made the following reply :—

I have listened with great pleasure and interest to your Address of Welcome and, on Lady Chelmsford's behalf and on my own, I thank you very warmly for the cordial sentiments you have expressed.

It is seldom that a Viceroy hears an address which does not contain some request of greater or less importance and the pleasure I derive from meeting you is enhanced in no small degree by the feeling that you are not discontented with what the Government is doing for you.

You would not, I am sure, wish me to refer at length to the history of your family. I will only recall Lord Canning's words which define, I think, your position to-day as well as in 1859. He then assured you of the desire of the Government to extend to you its protection and consideration from that time forward in return for which he expected you to set before the people of Lucknow an example of order, loyalty and obedience in all things to the authority of our Sovereign.

Gentlemen, you have loyally performed your part of this compact and I am glad that you are satisfied with the manner

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*Address from the ex-Royal Family of Oudh.*

in which my Government has performed its part. Your ancient and eminent lineage is a priceless asset, but as you yourselves have so readily admitted, it is not in itself a weapon sufficiently ready to carry you successfully through the battle of life in these days of keen competition and social progress. That you have set yourselves to give your sons a sound education is a sign that the vigour of your race is not exhausted. The education of the cadets of your family is an object that will always command my keenest sympathy and my Government will, I can assure you, be ready to extend to you every legitimate assistance in the prosecution of this laudable purpose. School honours, however, are too often apt to be regarded as an end in themselves instead of an indication of the mental equipment of those who are just descending into the arena of life. I am glad to learn that the members of your family are not content with purely academic distinctions and that you appreciate the importance of practical pursuits. I hope that all those who are now undergoing training will be ready to take their part as useful citizens of the State. There is unlimited scope for future usefulness for them, as for all young Indians, whether in the field of Government service, politics, industrial development or social service, in each of which they can not only earn a livelihood but also enjoy the happy consciousness of contributing to the common weal. It is this spirit, this sense that every man is doing something for the community if he works conscientiously in whatever may be his profession, that I wish to see inspiring the younger generation. Let me impress upon you the dignity of labour, and let me express the hope that the members of your noble family who are now growing to manhood will gain distinction and honour in their careers as practical men of affairs.

*Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.*

In conclusion, I thank you sincerely for your congratulations to our Gracious Sovereign on the victory which has been achieved by the heroism of the united forces of the Empire. I shall have great pleasure in conveying your loyal message to His Majesty.

## ADDRESS FROM THE TALUQDARS OF OUDH.

18th November 1919      In replying to an Address of Welcome from the Taluqdars of Oudh at Lucknow on the 18th November, His Excellency spoke as follows :—

*Taluqdars of Oudh*,—I use the words in no conventional sense when I say that for more reasons than one it is a very great pleasure to me and Lady Chelmsford to meet you here to-day. I beg you to accept my very hearty thanks for the welcome you have extended to us.

It is now nearly three years since I had the pleasure of receiving a deputation from your Association in Delhi and it is, I assure you, no small gratification to me to-day to meet in Oudh itself the Barons of Oudh who represent the landed aristocracy of this province and on whose loyalty and devotion to the Throne such implicit reliance may be placed. You have quoted portions of the speeches which were delivered by Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge to you. With your permission I will quote another passage from Lord Hardinge's speech to you in 1912. He then said "Whatever the future may betide, whether it be sunshine or storm, I feel that the old tradition of loyalty and good faith, which has so long been a bond between yourselves and Government, may be relied upon as one of the strongest assets of British Rule in India."

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*Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.*

Gentlemen, my predecessor could not be expected to foresee the storm clouds that two years later began to obscure the horizon and burst in the terrible cyclone which threatened to sink the ship of Empire, but which, thank God, we have successfully weathered. But he was a true prophet in so far as he foresaw that your spirit was staunch enough to resist the worst that might betide. I am indeed glad to have this opportunity of congratulating you personally upon the record of your services freely and loyally rendered throughout the war.

This meeting affords me a welcome opportunity of touching on some topics which, I see, are prominent in your minds at the present time. Nothing can be more healthy than a personal discussion of difficulties and I thank you for having spoken your minds so frankly. I will endeavour to meet you with equal frankness and say a few words on each of the topics you have raised.

You suggest that we should try to develop and maintain territorial regiments on lines similar to the county regiments of England. I learn with satisfaction that the experiment of raising four special Oudh Companies proved a success and that altogether 2,132 men enlisted in them. You must remember, however, that military organisation in England is quite different from that in India and any close analogy to the county regiments in the former country is not possible in the latter. Still the existing system of recruitment by which certain areas are allotted for recruitment to certain regiments affords an opportunity to men of one province to enlist in the same corps, and I trust we shall find the men of Oudh coming forward together, and together maintaining the traditions of Oudh in many battalions of our Indian Army.



*Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.*

You mention your aspiration that a due share of Commissions in His Majesty's Army may be allotted to the younger members of your families. In reply I need hardly point out that our first consideration must, in a matter of this importance, be that the candidate shall conform with a certain standard of fitness, mental, moral, and physical. If the Province of Oudh will produce candidates for admission to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, who fulfil these necessary minimum conditions, I shall welcome them and give their claims my most sympathetic and careful consideration.

You next mention your position in the Reform Scheme for the Government of India. You emphasise with justifiable pride your important position as the great landholders of Oudh and you ask for a reconsideration of the Government of India's recommendations as to the number of seats to be allotted to you in the reformed councils.

Gentlemen, the Government of India are fully cognisant of the special character and claims of the Taluqdars. Indeed while an officer like Sir Harcourt Butler whose personal connection with, and attachment to, the Province of Oudh are so well known, is at the head of the United Provinces Government, there can be no apprehension that such matters will not be fully and freely represented to the Government of India. You must, however, recognise that the settlement of all questions of representation involves the weighing and adjustment of many competing interests. These questions are closely connected with the details of the Bill now before Parliament, and till it is known in what form the Bill will emerge I can give no indication of the probable decision. You may, however, rest assured that your arguments will be given full consideration.

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*Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.*

Your next suggestion has reference to the question of Agriculture. You suggest that a separate Agricultural Department should be formed in the Government of India and that it should undertake active propaganda work in each province. While I agree that it is incumbent on Government to stimulate improved methods of agriculture by propaganda and demonstration farms, a task to which the Agricultural Departments are devoting steadily increasing attention, I would remind you that under the Reforms Scheme it is proposed that agriculture should be a transferred subject. If this proposal is brought into effect, the functions of the Central Government will be mainly advisory, and though we hope to maintain central institutes for research purposes, the work of propaganda to which you refer will fall to Local Governments acting on the advice of ministers. I have no doubt that the Government of the United Provinces will do its part, and I am glad to receive your assurance that you are ready to shoulder your share of the burden. Without your co-operation Government can do little. It can only point the way and demonstrate the results that are possible. Those results cannot be brought to full fruition until the large landlords take up improved methods and encourage their tenants to adopt them. I know that some of you are already doing this, and I hope that the continuance and expansion of those efforts will bring greatly increased prosperity.

The project for the Sarda Canal, to which you have referred, is now being investigated in detail with a view to a final estimate being framed. Meanwhile, the smaller project for the Sarda Kichha Canal has been submitted to the Secretary of State, and, if it meets with approval, I hope that work will be started on it next year.

*Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.*

To those portions of your address which deal with proposals for a University of Oudh and a separate High or Chief Court, I can only repeat what I have already said in my reply to the address which was presented to me by the Lucknow Municipal Board. The question of a University is shortly to be considered by a committee, and we must await the result of their enquiries.

The question of a High Court is a long-standing one. It will, I understand, shortly come up again for consideration and my Government will make every endeavour to reach a solution satisfactory to all parties.

Another topic on which you touch is your position under the new Arms Act. I would explain in this connection that the policy of my Government has been to make as few exemptions as possible, because such exemptions are a departure from the accepted principle of common treatment. In proposing exemptions therefore under the new schedule, including that of certain land-owning classes, my Government have confined themselves to following the former rules, under which, I may remind you, the Taluqdars of Oudh were not as such exempted. They are, however, considering the question of maintaining personal exemptions during the life-time of those at present entitled to this privilege, and I hope they will be able to reach a decision which will be satisfactory to you.

Gentlemen, I have little more to add. I have spoken openly and frankly to you, and I know that when you reflect upon what I have said you will realise that I am not unmindful of your special status and privileges. I am compelled to look at these matters from a broad point of view and,

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*Address from the Taluqdars of Oudh.*

if it is not always possible to please everybody, I only ask that you will give me credit for having weighed your claims impartially in the scale along with those of other classes and communities in India.

I thank you for your kind reference to Lady Chelmsford's interest in the welfare of the women and humbler classes of India. In her I have a very ready helper and one who has the interests of India, particularly of the classes you have mentioned, very much at heart. It is very gratifying to us both to know that you recognise and appreciate her labours in the cause of India's well-being.

Gentlemen, it has given me much pleasure to hear the warm tribute you pay to your Lieutenant-Governor. There are but few men to whom it is given to win affection and achieve success in so many varying fields of official and unofficial life. Wherever he goes, Sir Harcourt's personality exercises its sway. As our Foreign Secretary he gained the trust and confidence of the Indian Princes, while at the same time controlling our frontier relations with unfailing skill and resource. After leaving his mark on the educational policy of the Government of India, he proceeded to the rapid and successful courtship of Burma till, like a political Don Juan, he turned to find his first love still waiting for him here in glowing expectation. Wherever I have found him he has seemed essential to his surroundings, but most of all where last of all I find him here to-day, in his beloved Lucknow where he seems himself to be a genial Taluqdar of Oudh.

I thank you, gentlemen, for having listened so patiently to me and for your very cordial welcome.

## ADDRESSES FROM VARIOUS BODIES AT MADRAS.

24th Novem- Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford and Staff  
ber 1919. arrived at Madras on the morning of the 24th November.

During the day the Viceroy received addresses from deputations of the following public bodies at the Banqueting Hall :—The Corporation of Madras, the Southern India Islamia League, and Muthialpet Muslim Anjuman, Madras, Zemindars and Landholders Associations, the Madras Chamber of Commerce, the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, the Madras Mahajana Sabha, the Madras Liberal, the Madras Presidency Muslim League, the Anjuman and Mahomedan Educational Association of Southern India, the Liberal Federation, the Madras Ryotwari Landholders Association, the Indian Christian Association, the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India and the Madras Authee Dravida Jana Sabha. The Viceroy made the following joint reply to these addresses :—

First let me gratefully acknowledge the warm welcome which your associations, representing so many classes, creeds and divergent interests in this vast province, have all extended to me to-day ; and in my thanks let me associate Lady Chelmsford who, unlike myself, is visiting Madras for the first time. Let me assure you that it is a very great pleasure to us to find ourselves in the great Capital of Southern India, and that it is an added satisfaction to find established here our old friends Lord and Lady Willingdon on their “ promotion ” from Bombay.

Let me now address myself to my single-handed task of replying to the various and numerous representations which you by division of labour have mustered and placed before me. Together you will admit they furnish an imposing bill of fare, fully worthy of the Banqueting Hall in which we are assembled.

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

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It is of course usual, and I think it has also been customary here, to deal with these addresses singly and to respond to them *seriatim* and point by point. With your permission I propose to follow another course to-day, and deal in a general manner with some of the main topics which emerge from your addresses read as a whole. I trust that this plan will meet with your approval, that you will find it more practical and more expeditious and will read into it no discourtesy.

Your addresses contain passages expressing your congratulations and feelings of satisfaction and relief on the successful termination of the Great War. I acknowledge most gratefully your congratulations and shall have much pleasure in conveying them to His Majesty the King-Emperor. Gentlemen, here in India we have much to be thankful for. We were spared the horror and devastation of war. But our danger was none the less great. Our enemies cast many a wistful glance towards this country, a source, as they imagined, from which would flow that stream of gold which was to fill once more their depleted coffers. Thanks to the gallantry of the forces of the Empire that danger has been averted and it is our hope that India may now devote herself to her own political, industrial and social development without fear of external aggression.

But the war has done more for India than prove her loyalty. She has been represented at the Peace Conference; she has been admitted to membership of the League of Nations; and these facts cannot but quicken her sense of self-respect as a member of that great confederation, the British Empire.

Madras has reason to be proud of her part in the war. The people of South India are generally a peace-loving people,

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

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but your Carnatic regiments have fought with distinction in East Africa and elsewhere and recruits have come forward readily to take the place of those who have fallen. The people of the Presidency as a whole have helped by their restraint, by their patience under trying economic conditions and by their generosity. In homes far distant from here your sympathy with the sick and wounded became known through the voyages of the hospital-ship *Madras*, maintained, equipped and staffed entirely from the Presidency. This was a concrete expression of that spirit of co-operation which, I know, has animated you throughout these anxious years, and I am glad of this opportunity to thank you publicly in the name of His Majesty for all you have done.

The Madras Liberal League have raised certain questions concerning the Indian Army. I cordially endorse all they say as to the gallantry and good conduct of Indian soldiers of all classes and as to the value of their services in the Great War. They have proved their capacity and those selected for advancement will, when they have acquired the requisite professional education and experience, be given opportunities of showing their fitness for employment in more responsible positions.

As regards the grant of Commissions, in addition to the nine King's Commissions bestowed upon Indian officers of the land forces, it is proposed to grant King's Commissions to a number of selected Indian officers of Indian regiments who have specially distinguished themselves during the war. The names of those selected have been submitted to His Majesty for approval and they will probably be gazetted shortly. Honorary King's Commissions carrying enhanced rates of

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

pay and pension will also be granted on a liberal scale to Indian officers of long and exemplary service. The names of those selected will be notified as soon as the conditions of service have been fixed. Selected candidates are, as you know, already undergoing training at Sandhurst and provision has been made for the annual selection of a number of Indian candidates. The grant of Commissions to Indians is thus an accomplished fact and, though at present it is on a small scale, still the principle is established and I have every hope that it will be possible to extend it.

The organisation of the voluntary portion of the Indian Defence Force is under consideration and the points to which the Madras Liberal League refer will receive attention. In the case of the University Corps much has already been done on the lines they suggest.

Here and there certain addresses have touched upon various general questions of a controversial nature, and I learn that a suggestion that these were hardly suited to the occasion has excited some comment. Gentlemen, I would have you know that it is no wish nor practice of mine to burke such matters. In fact, if I wished to burke them I do not think I could contrive to do so. It is really only a question of what is appropriate when a Viceroy comes as a guest, anxious to hear in the time at his disposal such representations as relate particularly or mainly to the community or province to which his hosts belong. Other more general questions, whether controversial or not, are fully ventilated in my Legislative Council, and my views and the views of my Government are readily accessible to all who take an interest in public matters.



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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

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Coming, then, to matters of more directly local concern. I will deal first with municipal affairs since your Corporation with its ancient charter is entitled to pride of place among you. I congratulate the Commissioners of the Corporation on the historic antiquity of the institution which they represent. It is a characteristic of such institutions that with the change of time and the evolution of political ideas they assume new and more liberal shapes gradually broadening down from precedent to precedent. The Corporation stands on the verge of such a change. I congratulate them on the fact that the new Act will give a very substantial majority of elected members and I trust that their influence on the municipal government of your city will be used with beneficial results. Allusion has been made to the alarming death-rate in the city during past years and to the urgent need of drainage and water-work schemes. This is obviously a most pressing question which must come in the forefront of the municipal programme. I am fully aware of the financial embarrassments which have to some extent hampered operations in the past. But from the interesting debates which took place in the Legislative Council regarding the new Act I gather that their financial position will be substantially changed for the better and in view of this and of the comparatively light assessment of rates and taxes (and in saying this I speak to the members of the Madras Chamber of Commerce also) I refuse to share their gloomy anticipations. I would ask those who take an opposite view to study the local burdens borne by municipalities in England. As a rate-payer in London I can sympathise with your desire to keep the municipal rates down, but as an old member of the governing body of London I cannot shut my eyes to the improvements which are imperatively required in all our great cities. It is of the

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

essence of responsible government, whether in municipal or in other spheres, that reliance should be placed upon local effort and local resources for the carrying out of improvements. I would exhort the Commissioners and their successors in office to use their enhanced powers for local taxation and would deprecate dependence upon doles from extraneous sources.

Important points of commercial interest have been raised in several of your addresses, notably by the Madras Chamber of Commerce, the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and the Madras Liberal League.

I am glad to see that you view with appreciation the work of Sir Francis Spring, who has recently retired after 15 years' service as Chairman of your Port Trust. I share your appreciation and am glad to see with my own eyes the evidence of his labours in the flourishing condition of your port. But, while my Government are not unmindful of the great importance of port development in India, they are unable to accept the suggestion, which you have made, that the responsibility for financing the future development of the Madras Port by large Imperial loans should rest with them. They think that the time has now come when your Port Trust Board should be prepared to stand alongside the Administrative Bodies of the other great Indian ports and take measures to finance themselves. I cannot doubt that some measure of independence in this respect will be to the advantage of your port, for you will be able to tap local funds which would not be loaned to the Central Government, and I do not anticipate that your Port Trust Board will have any difficulty in financing the useful measures of improvement which they contemplate.

I am also in full sympathy with your desire to develop your coast ports. The conditions at Cochin and Tuticorin

*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

have recently been investigated by experts whose reports are no doubt under the consideration of your Local Government. Any recommendation that may be made to the Government of India will receive most careful consideration. The future of the Vizagapatam harbour was recently very carefully considered in consultation between the Government of Madras, the Railway Board and the other interests concerned, and we hope to make material progress with the schemes in the near future.

With regard to railways, I may tell you that we hope to set up a Committee to sit during the cold weather of 1920-21, which will enquire, among other matters, into the somewhat contentious subject of State and Company management of railways. Their conclusions, we hope, will assist us in deciding which system of management best enables our railways to discharge their great duties to the State.

The Madras Chamber of Commerce I note ask for a more liberal policy in regard to funds for new railway construction in the Madras Presidency. There is hardly a province in India which does not put forward the same claim. Our resources are limited and in making allotments for this purpose we have to regard India as a whole and distribute our funds where the need appears to us to be greatest. I can assure the Chamber, however, that the claim of Madras will be given the fullest consideration when making future allotments of funds.

Railway development has necessarily been in abeyance during the period of the war and now that the war is over, we have a great deal of leeway to make up to get our open lines into order, and for this purpose we have been able to set aside a sum of nearly 18 million sterling during the current year,

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

My Government fully realise that railways are the life-arteries of the country, and it is their policy to build, and to encourage the building of, new railways at the earliest possible moment. The limiting factor for the present will not so much be money as material. All the railways of the world need renewal and the world's demand for steel is on an enormous scale.

The Chamber have alluded also to the disadvantages arising from the present differences of gauge on the Indian Railways. From my experience in Australia I am fully aware of these disadvantages, and the position with regard to our Indian gauges has often exercised my mind. We have, however, 15,000 miles of metre gauge railway in India as against 17,000 miles of broad gauge and the expense of conversion from metre gauge to broad gauge is unfortunately about 75 per cent. of the cost of making an entirely new broad gauge line. While it may be possible to convert to broad gauge such lengths of metre gauge line as form sections of through routes, the conversion of any large amount of our metre gauge system must for the time being remain a dream of the future, for our available funds can, under present conditions, be more usefully employed in building new railways.

I fully realise that the transfer of coal from gauge to gauge involves heavy loss, but I think you will find that an even greater wastage is entailed in the greater number of handlings which coal undergoes when carried by rail and sea. It will be our endeavour to increase railway facilities for so handling the coal traffic that a free choice will be afforded for the utilisation of the alternative routes.

I am well aware of the enterprise shown by many of the District Boards in this Presidency in initiating and carrying

*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

to completion many valuable railway projects. I share the regret expressed by the Madras Liberal League that so many of those schemes have had to be held in abeyance during recent years, but, now that normal conditions can be confidently looked for in the near future, it will be our best endeavour to give every encouragement to develop railway construction and to utilise the agency of District Boards for this purpose to the fullest extent possible.

The Madras Chamber of Commerce have referred to the advisability of undertaking legislation in India on the lines of the English Registration of Business Names Act, 1916. You are, I have no doubt, aware that this question has been receiving the attention of my Government, and we have invited the opinion of Local Governments and representative Commercial Bodies on the subject. Some time must, however, necessarily elapse before the views of all interests affected by the suggested measure are received. If the replies show general unanimity on the subject in the commercial world, my Government will have no hesitation in introducing legislation. Hitherto, however, as you know, the question has given rise to much difference of opinion.

As regards enemy aliens, an announcement was made in the Legislative Council by Sir William Vincent on the 23rd September on the subject of the future treatment of Germans in India. Every German now in India is to be repatriated, subject to exceptions only in cases where there are very special reasons for granting exemption from repatriation. The repatriation will be effected as soon as shipping arrangements can be made. Moreover, the question whether Germans should be altogether excluded from India during a period to

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

be fixed is at present under discussion with the Secretary of State, and the Government of India hope to be in a position very soon to announce their policy in this matter. In fact, you will have seen from the press communiqué issued only yesterday that certain definite conclusions have already been reached and I trust they will be regarded as satisfactory.

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce have referred to the economic dislocation brought about by the war, and to the problem of prices. They look forward to the development of Indian industries as the need of the moment, and I trust with them that in the launching out of a vigorous industrial policy will be found the solution of many of our difficulties. Madras holds an honourable position in respect of industries and has the right to ask for a vigorous policy, but I can assure you that my Government is pressing forward in the matter. The recommendations made by the Indian Industrial Commission have been dealt with as expeditiously as possible. Sir Thomas Holland, who will be in control of the new development, is shortly returning, and I hope that the foundations of a new industrial era will in the near future be laid deeply and surely.

The important question of a reduction in cable rates between the United Kingdom, India and other parts of the Empire, to which the Madras Liberal League have referred, was raised at the Imperial War Conference, and the matter is receiving consideration from my Government.

More than one address has alluded to the interests of Indians abroad. I may assure you that my Government have done, and will continue to do, everything in their power to protect

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

these interests. Difficulties have arisen in many parts of the world, sometimes within the British Empire and sometimes outside it. The difficulty, however, which is most before your eyes, is that which has recently arisen in South Africa, and here I must refer to the great loss which we have all suffered by the death of General Botha. India as well as the rest of the Empire is poorer by his death. He has been succeeded as Prime Minister by General Smuts, and I feel that we can rely on his broad-mindedness to secure a careful consideration of the Indian grievances. We have heard from him that the proposed Commission will sit early in the New Year. India, as you have learnt from the message which we have recently received from Mr. Montagu, will be represented before, and not on, the Commission, and our case will be powerfully presented by Sir Benjamin Robertson, and I trust also that the Union Government of South Africa will agree to the inclusion of an Indian public leader in the deputation. We have been pressing strongly for this, and I have every reason to believe that we shall succeed.

Reference has also been made to the Indians in Fiji. The conditions of labour in this Island have without doubt been improved during the last few years, but not, I am afraid, to the extent which we have demanded. Consequently I pressed for the cancellation of all outstanding indentures by the end of the present year.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has agreed to the cancellation of indentures on all estates on which the principal reforms recommended by Mr. Andrews have not

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

been carried out on the 1st January 1920. But I am not satisfied with this and I have asked the Secretary of State to ascertain what would be the cost of commuting the remaining indentures and freeing every Indian labourer in Fiji on the 1st of January next.

The interests of Indians in the former Colonies of the German Empire will, I hope, be safeguarded by Article 22 of the Treaty of Peace, which provides that the Mandatory responsible for the administration of such territory must observe conditions which will secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League of Nations, of which, as I may remind you, India is an original member.

In my speech at the opening of the recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council I referred to the present difficulties regarding exchange and currency, and I do not think I need say more than to repeat that my Government are fully cognisant of the handicap to trade and commerce caused by these difficulties. We are looking to the Currency Committee for their solution, and I am sure you will understand that the extremely difficult problem with which they are dealing is one that requires much careful deliberation, but I understand that they are now reaching the final stages of their enquiry.

I am aware that for many years your Presidency has cherished a grievance in respect of the alleged disproportionate amount which it contributes from its revenues to the common purse. Lord Willingdon has not failed to press me in this matter and would, I suspect, in his transferred



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affections be willing that even Bombay should suffer for your advantage. You probably know that the present system of financial settlements with the provinces will automatically come to an end with the introduction of the Reforms Scheme and the re-classification of revenues between the Central and the Provincial Governments. That re-classification will result in the provinces being allotted considerably larger revenues than at present. The Government of India, however, will be left with a deficit, which must be made good by contributions from the provinces. The decision as to the amount of contribution to be taken from each province will be an extremely difficult matter, and a Committee on Financial Relations is to be appointed to go into the matter very carefully. That Committee will of course give due weight to any representation that any province may put forward regarding the proportionate contribution to be taken from it, and your Presidency will have ample opportunity of placing before the Committee the special case of Madras. I may mention that in order to arrive at some basis for the initial contributions to be taken from the provinces on the inauguration of the Reforms Scheme, and also to clear the ground as much as possible before the Committee on Financial Relations takes up its task of fixing the ultimate scale of contributions, an informal conference was held at Simla in October between officers deputed by the various Provincial Governments and the Finance Member, and I hope that their deliberations will prove to have facilitated the Committee's work.

I am very pleased to meet here the leading representatives of the Mahomedan community of Southern India. The sentiments of that community have been voiced to-day by

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

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important associations, *viz.*, the Southern India Islamia League, the Presidency Muslim League, the two Anjumans and the Mahomedan Educational Association of Southern India. I realise to the full and sympathise most deeply with the anxiety felt by all Moslems in India regarding the result of the negotiation of Peace with Turkey. Knowing how strong those feelings are, I took measures to secure that their views should be represented fully to the Home Government and to the authorities assembled at the Peace Conference. Special Moslem representatives were delegated to Paris to attend the Peace Conference, and whatever may be the result of the negotiations—and this must depend on factors which affect other interests than those of India or England—Indian Moslems may rest assured that their feelings have been fully represented. You may have noticed that Mr. Bonar Law, speaking in the House of Commons on November 3rd, said that the British Government was aware of the interest of Indian Mahomedans in the future of Turkey and that they would give, as they had already given, full weight and consideration to their views.

Satisfaction has been expressed at the conclusion of peace with the neighbouring Mahomedan Government of Afghanistan. I share with you the feeling of relief at the termination of hostilities. The quarrel was none of our seeking, and it is a satisfaction that those who attacked us realised so readily the mistake made by them. Peace has been concluded, and I hope that this will be followed later on by a treaty of real friendship. It would be a cause of genuine satisfaction to us to have a strong, progressive and friendly Government established at Kabul. We have no aspirations or ambitions in that quarter except to live on good terms with our neighbour,

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

and we trust that the young Amir has fully realised the unwisdom of the action which first marked his succession to his greatly revered father, His Majesty Habibulla Khan, who was throughout his reign a true and loyal friend of the British Government.

You have alluded to my solicitude for Mahomedan education. The Government of India have at various times given substantial proof of their interest in this matter. In April 1913 they addressed the Local Governments exhaustively on the subject, and the Government of Madras put forward a list of schemes for the advancement of your education. The Government of India assisted these schemes by giving in the following year a recurring grant for their support and they followed this up with a non-recurring grant in 1915.

I can assure you that the subject is one which, though primarily the care of the Local Governments, is watched with unceasing interest by the Government of India. I am glad to hear of the success of the Madrassa-Azam, and I hope that this and similar institutions will remove the complaint, which is not confined to the Mussalmans of this Presidency, that they have fallen behind certain other communities in the matter of higher education. Signs have not been wanting during the last 15 years that the Mahomedan community have fully realised the handicap which this fact has entailed upon them and figures show that they are making up leeway.

Educational questions have been raised by certain other bodies. The Madras Authee Dravida Janna Sabha urge that a system of free and compulsory primary education is an absolute and urgent necessity for their community. The principle of compulsion has already been expressed in legislation

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

for a number of the provinces of India. I understand that similar action is contemplated for the Presidency of Madras, and should the measure be passed here also, it will no doubt be in the power of any community to avail themselves fully of the benefit of it.

The Indian Christian Association have rightly attributed their progress and prosperity almost entirely to education, and have proudly pointed to the position which their community holds in regard to literacy. I congratulate them and I can assure them that my Government has not overlooked the necessity of safeguarding the interests of special communities in any changes which may be brought about in regard to the control of educational facilities. A request for special scholarships has been urged by the Catholic Indian Association of Southern India, and I have no doubt it will receive due consideration at the hands of the Government of Madras.

They have also broached the very difficult question of a right interpretation of a passage in the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act. I believe this question is not a new one, but if they thought to take advantage of my training and to extract a legal opinion from me here and now without fee, I fear I shall disappoint them. The matter is one for their legal advisers and for the law courts of this country, and it is inconceivable to me that these two together should fail to produce right interpretation.

It is not easy for me to accept the proposal contained in the address of the Ryotwari Landholders Association that I should order a thorough revision of the land-revenue policy of the Local Government. No specific defects in that policy

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

are mentioned. The land-revenue systems of all the Local Governments and the policy of the Government of India were exhaustively examined nearly 20 years ago and the well-known resolution of Lord Curzon's Government contained a full exposition of these systems and a full justification of the policy underlying them. It was pointed out in that resolution that the Government of India had intimated their cordial acceptance of the principle that the existing classification of land in Madras, if found to be equitable, should not be disturbed, but that there could be no question of Government surrendering a share in the increase of the value of produce which had resulted partly from its own outlay on great public works and partly from the general enhancement of values produced by expanding resources and a higher standard of civilisation.

Representations connected with the Reform Scheme have occurred in several of the addresses read to-day. In regard to the position of what are commonly known as the "depressed classes," let me say that the Government of India found that this question presented one of the most difficult problems that it had to face. It is, however, not a problem which is confined to Madras, and it is not a problem which can be entirely solved by legislation or by action which falls within the sphere of political measures. I note with appreciation the recognition of the sympathetic attitude taken by the Government of Madras on the subject. The further practical measures suggested lie rather within the scope of local than of Imperial politics. But I can assure the representatives of the classes in question that every step taken by them to raise the material and moral standard of those classes, every measure which will produce in them an increased degree of

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

self-respect and independence of character will be welcomed by my Government and will find its recognition in a fuller admission to political representation.

It will obviously not be possible for me to deal at length with the numerous and weighty questions in connection with the Reform Scheme that have been raised here to-day. I will, however, say this. I have carefully noted the contents of the various addresses on the subject. Those who drafted those addresses will remember, however, that the whole question of representation and the question of financial relations have received the most anxious and careful consideration from the Government of India and are now before Parliament. In matters of this kind no decision can be regarded as final and irrevocable; for revision of the basis and strength of representation must inevitably take place from time to time, and it will be for the interests which complain of the inadequacy of the seats allotted to them to prove by their intellectual advancement and the strength of their public spirit that they are entitled to a larger representation in the Councils of State.

You have perhaps seen the telegraphic summary of the recommendations made by the Joint Committee to Parliament. Until I have the full text of the Report in my hands, I hesitate to speak about it with certainty, but it may be of value if I read to you such portions of the summary as refer to the representations which have been made.

“Following recommendations relate to Franchise Report:—  
(a) Government of India to adjust allocation of seats so as to secure larger representation of rural population as distinct from urban and better representation of urban wage-earning

*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

classes. . . . . (b) Depressed Classes. Government of India should be instructed after consultation with Local Governments to provide larger share of real representation by nomination having regard to number in each province. Increase not to diminish general electorate and nominees to be taken if suitable, and if not otherwise available, from ranks of public services without thereby increasing prescribed ratio of official members. (c) non-Brahmins in Madras must be provided with separate representation by means of reservation of seats. Brahmins and non-Brahmins to be invited to settle number of seats to be reserved and method of reservation and failing agreement decision to be made by arbitrator appointed by Government of India."

The Reform Bill will now go to Parliament. I feel confident that it will be passed in the near future, and I am therefore already taking all measures possible, so that we may have in India a machinery ready to construct our new constitution. So far as the recommendations of the Joint Committee are concerned each one of us no doubt thinks that he could have put together a better scheme, but here at last, after much controversy and much labour, we see the prospect of a decision. I trust that we shall all in our respective spheres accept that decision and do our best to build up India's future upon it. The foundation will be there, spacious and ample. Let us bring mutual good-will and co-operation to the task confronting us.

And now, gentlemen, I feel that I should exhaust your patience if I detained you longer. My reply to the representations you have made on many important matters has

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*Addresses from various bodies at Madras.*

necessarily been brief and, I fear, may be considered by some of you inadequate, but you must not regard me as wanting in sympathy with your aspirations.

It is a sincere pleasure to me to meet once again the chief representatives of your various communities. I retain the happiest recollection of my former visit when I learned to appreciate the keen intellectual gifts which your men of light and leading brought to the enquiry with which Mr. Montagu and I were then charged. Nor shall I readily forget the admirable exhibition of Madras arts and industries which I then saw. It left a deep impression upon me and the firm conviction that your province is destined to play a leading and brilliant part in the great chapter of Indian industrial development.

It was not, then, without some amusement that I noticed in one of the addresses just read some slight sensitiveness under the charge that Madras is, or was, the "Benighted Province." For I confess I recollect the phrase. It stirs a faint chord of memory. I think, however, you will realise from my speech that this is the last epithet which I should think of applying. Indeed, could any place remain *in penumbra* to which Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon directed their burning energies and the radiance of their presence? I know they will win your hearts and I trust that their names will be associated with a period of unbroken peace and prosperity for you all.

Gentlemen, I thank you once again for your addresses of welcome and for the cordial sentiments you have expressed.



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LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE VICTORY  
MEMORIAL, MADRAS.

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26th Novem-  
ber 1919.

In laying the stone His Excellency the Viceroy said—

I regard it as a great privilege to be asked to lay the foundation stone of what I believe is the first of the many Victory Memorials in this country.

At the same time I realise how far it is beyond my power adequately to express what is in our hearts and minds as we think back over the days from August 4th, 1914, to November 11th, 1918.

We entered upon the war with little idea or conception of what lay ahead—indeed *until the first terrible casualty lists* appeared, people in England scarcely grasped the fact that we were at war—and this was, I think, typical of the Empire as a whole. Indeed it seemed a recurring feature throughout the war. Success and victory never bound us together with a will to conquer, but were rather apt to produce an over-confidence and a readiness to put down our arms. Throughout we required the stimulus of reverse to bring out the best in us. It was in the dark days that our Empire shone out. The retreat from Mons, the glorious failure of Gallipoli, the heroic tragedy of Kut, those dark days of the spring of 1918, these were the moments in which our spirit justified itself most fully. These were the days in which I felt that India was most surely at one with the rest of the Empire. And if I am right in my reading of our spirit—for it is the spirit which is the one thing essential—does it not bring out in clearer and bolder relief the contrast between our spirit and that of our foes?

No one who has glanced even superficially at the German literature on the subject both antecedent and subsequent to

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Victory Memorial, Madras.*

the war can fail to be struck by that note—the will to conquer—which pervades it throughout. Germany must be “over All.” For her it must be “World Empire or nothing.” That note finds no place in its positive form in our literature or the speeches of our statesmen. We had no frigid and calculated policy of domination over our neighbours. We asked only to live and let live. If evidence were necessary we have only to look at our military preparations prior to the war. Our navy indeed was there the sure shield of Empire ; but a navy by itself cannot win a war. And ours was never an instrument of oppression.

But if that spirit—the will to conquer—was absent in its positive form, in its negative form—the will not to be conquered—it was present to a degree never surpassed in the annals of our Empire, and it shone out most radiantly when it was required to illumine our darkest days.

And so we celebrate our victory, not with any prickings of conscience as to our motives or the justice of our cause, but confident that we entered into the fight not because we wished it but because we had to ; that we won the fight not because the note of our Empire’s spirit was “the will to conquer,” but “the will not to be conquered.” If I may put it so, we refused to allow ourselves to be “counted out.”

And now we are to commemorate our victory. We can do it by remembrance ; we can do it by thankfulness. We can do it by remembrance of our glorious dead, who died that we might have life and have it more abundantly. We can do it by thankfulness, through our willing tribute to their memory.

*Address from the Bangalore Municipality.*

I like well the form which your Memorial is to take—a building to be the home of all those associations which aim at improving the health and well-being of the community.

I said our dead had died that we might have life more abundantly. How better could we commemorate them than by doing something which will make for the health and fuller life of those who are still to come.

## ADDRESS FROM THE BANGALORE MUNICIPALITY.

27th November 1919.

The Viceregal Party arrived at Bangalore on the morning of the 27th November. At 11 o'clock His Excellency received a deputation and address from the Municipal Committee of the Civil and Military Station. His Excellency replied as follows:—

*Gentlemen*,—I have till now found it impossible to include Bangalore in my tour programme, but the accounts which I have heard of your city have strengthened the desire I have always felt of visiting this part of India.

I thank you warmly for the cordial welcome which you have extended to Lady Chelmsford and myself, and, as Viceroy, I acknowledge with gratitude your congratulations on the conclusion of peace and your expressions of loyalty to the Throne.

During the years of war the task of your Committee has been arduous. Special problems have confronted you; you have been called upon to entertain a very largely increased military garrison and a civil population which has expanded proportionately. I must thank you for your untiring energies in the task of accommodating the large garrisons which have

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*Address from the Bangalore Municipality.*

been stationed at Bangalore and for the admirable arrangements which, thanks to your co-operation, it has been possible to make for the comfort of our troops. You have thus worthily contributed your share to the work which India has performed during the war.

As regards your specific requests, I must remind you in the first place that their fulfilment depends ultimately on the question of finance. During the war my Government, while fully appreciating the importance of improving the systems of water-supply and of drainage, which are closely connected, have been compelled to postpone taking action owing to the urgent need for curtailing expenditure. The matter is complicated by the need of consulting the various interests of the Durbar, Bangalore City, the Civil and Military Station and the Military authorities. The question of water-supply and sanitation is, however, now engaging most serious attention, and I hope that it will be possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution at no very distant date.

The desirability of establishing a college in the Civil and Military Station originated, I believe, with the Resident, who thoroughly understands its importance. I learn from Mr. Cobb that he has already framed proposals, which will soon be laid before the Government of India. Pending their detailed examination I cannot do more than assure you that the scheme will receive careful and sympathetic consideration.

Your desire that the highest appellate jurisdiction should be vested in the Madras High Court depends for its fulfilment on various considerations, into the details of which it would be inappropriate for me to enter. I would advise you to formulate definite proposals and lay them before the Resident.

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*Address from the Bangalore Municipality.*

From the information at my disposal I am inclined to the opinion that there are strong arguments in favour of the revival of the post of District and Sessions Judge for which you press. The Resident informs me that he is communicating his views to the Government of India, who will endeavour as far as possible to meet your wishes in the matter.

As to your request for representation under the scheme of Constitutional Reforms, it is impossible to express any opinion at the present stage. Your best course will be, if you have any definite proposals, to communicate them to the Resident, whom, I understand, you have not yet approached. It must be remembered, however, that Bangalore is administered by the Government of India primarily on military grounds and for military purposes, and this fact must have an important bearing on the question.

I desire to assure you, gentlemen, that the welfare of the Civil and Military Station will always be a matter of intimate concern to us, and that any recommendations we may receive from your Resident on your behalf will always command the sympathetic attention of the Government of India. I hope that, now that peace has come and with it a reasonable hope of better economic conditions, the Station may enjoy years of unbroken prosperity.

I am sure you would not wish me to conclude without a tribute to your Resident, Mr. Cobb, who is to leave you in a few months. In him you have a Resident who has the interest not only of the Mysore Durbar but also of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore very much at heart, and he has always pleaded your cause ably and earnestly with the Government of India. It has always been a great satisfaction to

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*Address from the Coorg Planters' Association.*

me to feel that I had here in Mr. Cobb an adviser of wide experience and weighty judgment and I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for his services.

I thank you, gentlemen, once more for the cordial reception you have given us.

ADDRESS FROM THE COORG PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION.

A deputation from the Coorg Planters' Association was received by His Excellency at 11-30 on the morning of the 27th November 1919. In replying to the address of welcome the Viceroy said —

*Gentlemen*,—I thank you very cordially for your kindly welcome. It is a matter of regret to me that I am unable to visit your province, but you will realise that a Viceroy has many calls upon his time and is not always in a position to consult his own personal inclinations.

Your war record, gentlemen, is responsible for the fact that I already know a good deal about you. All those among you who were capable of bearing arms responded readily to your country's call, and one of your number, whose sad death just after his release formed a tragic end to a brilliant career, won a world-wide reputation as a fearless aviator. Nor can I omit mention of those who, too old to fight themselves, took upon themselves the extra burden involved in the absence of the younger members of your community.

A record like this renders it unnecessary for me to assure you of my sympathy with you in your needs and aspirations, and I will endeavour to answer briefly the points raised by you in your address.

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*Address from the Coorg Planters' Association.*

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With reference to your remarks as regards the continuance of the privilege of being under the administration of the Honourable the Chief Commissioner of Coorg, I may say that the Government of India have no present intention of taking up the question of incorporating Coorg in the Madras Presidency.

I sympathise with you in your desire to have a railway connection through the province. The want of such a connection is recognised and a considerable amount of useful preliminary survey and investigation work has already been carried out, but for the last five years consideration of any such project had necessarily to be deferred. My Government will now resume consideration of the subject in consultation with the Mysore Durbar who are closely interested and who, it is understood, have already been investigating a project connecting the borders of Coorg with the Mysore Railway.

You mention the great need of new roads and bridges in Coorg. I am glad to be able to assure you that action is already being taken, so far as funds permit, to meet the wishes of the Association. Outside Coorg limits the co-operation of the Madras authorities is required and the work of establishing proper communications between Coorg and the Coast will need time.

You refer to the scarcity and dearness of food-stuffs in Coorg. I am aware that the price of rice has increased greatly in Coorg in the present year and that the prices of all food-grains are terribly high. Unfortunately this phenomenon is common to all India at the present time, and it is the necessary consequence partly of the war and partly of a failure of

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*Address from the Coorg Planters' Association.*

crops in India which was unprecedented in the extent of country affected. You suggest that prices would have remained on a lower level and a shortage of supplies would have been prevented if the local authorities had been authorised to regulate exports of rice by road from Coorg. Proposals to this end were submitted to the Government of India by more than one administration, as well as by the Chief Commissioner at the beginning of this year ; but after a careful examination of the whole policy of restricting exports by road, the Government of India were compelled to negative such proposals. Exports of rice by rail have been regulated throughout the year throughout India, but it was felt that the circumstances of road-borne traffic differ materially from those of traffic by rail. In the latter case control is easily applied and made effective ; it is directed primarily to movements on a large scale ; evasion is difficult and finally the system of certificates can be utilised to secure some regulation of prices. In the case of traffic by road, control could be applied only by the adoption of measures which would affect all the persons using the road. Moreover, while evasion would be easy and the control to a large extent ineffective, the attempt to apply it would open the door very widely to bribery and corruption on the part of low-paid subordinates. The Government of India therefore decided against the policy of restricting exports of food-stuffs by road and their decision on the general question of policy governed the particular case of Coorg. I am aware of the reasons which might have been urged, and in fact were urged, for according exceptional treatment to Coorg. But had the Government of India given way in the case of Coorg they would have found it difficult to resist requests for similar special treatment from other parts of the



*Address from the Coorg Planters' Association.*

country, and eventually they would have been driven into a position of which they thoroughly disapproved and which would have been hopelessly impracticable. Five hundred tons of Burma rice a month have been allotted to Coorg for several months past, and I am sorry to learn from your address that this measure did not prove helpful nor afford relief. But I hope that in any case your troubles will soon be at an end. I understand that bumper harvests have already been secured in the adjoining districts of Malabar and South Kanara as well as throughout the greater part of India, and that your own harvest which is due next month promises to be excellent. I trust therefore that in a very short time there will be no fear of any shortage of supplies and that there will be a material reduction in prices.

I should like to refer to the position of the coffee planting industry in Coorg. In consequence of the imperative necessity for conserving tonnage for imports of national importance, the importation of coffee into the United Kingdom was prohibited in 1917. As a result, the export of nearly 2-5ths of the year's crop was held up, and the effect on the industry threatened to be extremely serious. The position was anxiously considered by the Chief Commissioner, the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and I think that you will agree that every effort was made to assist the industry. On the urgent representation of my Government, His Majesty's Government agreed to allow the importation during 1917 of half the 1916 crop and during 1918 of half the imports of the preceding year. The scarcity of tonnage, however, dominated the position, and, though every effort was made to obtain sufficient freight, full use could not be made of this concession.

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*Unveiling of King Edward's Statue at Bangalore.*

Another measure taken in the interests of the industry was to stop the import of foreign coffee, and this was prohibited at the end of 1917.

Various schemes of financial relief to the planting community were also considered by Government. The Secretary of State asked the Exchange Banks to grant secondary preference against coffee shipments. The grant of tacavi loans to planters on easy terms was also sanctioned. Finally, a large order for 2,000 tons of coffee was received from the Greek Government and passed on to the Southern India planters, and every assistance as to transport facilities was afforded by the Government authorities to enable the former to carry out the order. I sincerely hope that this large order may result in the opening up of a new market for your coffee. Though you are far removed from the Government of India, we have not been unmindful of your interests and we have tried to take every step which lay in our power to help your important industry to tide over the difficulties and dangers which were the result of the war. It is a real satisfaction to me to learn that the industry has now recovered from this temporary set-back, and that its future is full of promise.

Let me conclude with a hope that you will enjoy ever increasing prosperity, and that you may reap a reward commensurate with the distinguished services you have rendered to the Empire.

#### UNVEILING OF KING EDWARD'S STATUE AT BANGALORE.

This ceremony was performed by His Excellency the Viceroy on the morning of the 28th November. His Excellency said—

28th November 1919.

*Gentlemen*,—Allow me in the first place to express my appreciation of your loyal address. I entirely concur in the

*Unveiling of King Edward's Statue at Bangalore.*

sentiments which you have so admirably expressed and I have little to add to your words.

I must, however, thank His Highness for his generous contribution to the cost of the statue, the canopy and the completion of the surroundings, and all the subscribers who have made the erection of the statue possible. Not least, I must thank Rao Bahadur Annaswami Mudeliar to whose energy and personal service must in a large measure be ascribed the result which has been achieved. These gifts are a gratifying expression of that deep patriotism which I know has animated His Highness and all those who have subscribed so liberally. Representing as we do all classes and creeds of the Mysore State and of British India, officials and non-officials, British and Indians, we are assembled here to-day to do honour to the pious memory of His late Imperial Majesty and in honouring him we honour too those ideals with which his memory is indissolubly associated.

This assemblage at the point of junction of British and Mysore jurisdiction is typical of the unity of the Indian States and British India,—a unity which I hope to see cemented even more firmly by the ties of common interests and common aspirations.

The time too is in consonance with the thoughts which have inspired your contributions, and with the character of the benevolent Sovereign whom we have met to honour and commemorate, for it marks the end of a struggle against the forces of greed and tyranny and, if the Almighty so wills, the beginning of an era of peace and freedom.

Let us keep before us the noble ideals of our late King-Emperor, Edward VII, whose statue it is my privilege now to unveil.

## ADDRESS FROM THE MYSORE CITY MUNICIPALITY.

The Viceregal party arrived at Mysore on the morning of the 1st 1st Decem-  
ber 1919.  
December. In reply to an Address of Welcome from the Municipal  
Committee His Excellency said —

*Gentlemen*,—I thank you most heartily for the cordial welcome which you have extended to Lady Chelmsford and myself, and for your loyal address to me as the representative of His Imperial Majesty.

It has been a great pleasure to us to visit this beautiful city, the capital of a singularly charming country. Your gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja for what he has done for Mysore is well merited. I know that it is His Highness' vigorous and personal interest which has brought about the wonderful improvements in the city effected in recent years, and that His Highness cherishes the laudable ambition,—an ambition that is on the road to rapid fulfilment,—of making his capital a model city both from the æsthetic and from the sanitary standpoint.

The outward results of His Highness' efforts are patent to all. But, although I should be the last to underrate the refining and ennobling influence of beautiful buildings, the duty of a Municipality does not end here. Even more important are the sanitary requirements of a large and populous city like Mysore. That His Highness agrees with me in this interpretation of municipal responsibility is abundantly clear from the proofs which exist of his solicitude for the welfare of his poorer subjects. These duties are imposed upon a Board of Trustees which has I learn since its formation spent over 52 lakhs of rupees on improvements including the relief of congestion, the removal of insanitary dwellings, the creation of open places, drainage systems,

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*Address from the Combined Planters' Association of Mysore.*

and the construction of model houses for the poor. This is a fine record of which the Board may well be proud.

For all this His Highness deserves the gratitude of his subjects, and citizens of Mysore are under a great obligation to the Board, and their Honorary President, Dewan Bahadur Sri Kantesvara Aiyar.

Lady Chelmsford and I will always retain most pleasant memories of our visit to Mysore, and although unfortunately we cannot hope to visit you again, we shall always be interested to hear of your continued prosperity under the enlightened rule of His Highness Maharaja Sri Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar.

ADDRESS FROM THE COMBINED PLANTERS' ASSOCIATION  
OF MYSORE.

2nd December 1919. In reply to the above address His Excellency said—

*Gentlemen*,—I acknowledge with gratitude your kind address of welcome to myself, and I much appreciate the sentiments of loyalty to Their Imperial Majesties contained in it.

The Associations for which you speak represent an important industry which for nearly 80 years has flourished in the charming scenery and cool climate of the great Indian State of Mysore. I learn that your coffee estates cover an area of over 43,000 acres under European management. Their extent and the magnitude of your interests give you a claim to the solicitude of His Highness the Maharaja and the Government of India. I can assure you that both the Mysore Durbar and the Imperial Government are appreciative of your services as promoters of industry, and are sympathetically interested in your specific requests.

*State Banquet at Mysore.*

On account of the war and the many varying interests concerned, the important question of Railway connection with the West Coast has perforce been temporarily shelved, but it is now receiving the closest attention of the Government of India, the Mysore Durbar and the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and when the matter comes up for the final decision, due weight will be given to your views.

Gentlemen, I thank you again for your cordial welcome and I wish you unbroken and ever-increasing prosperity.

STATE BANQUET AT MYSORE.

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore entertained Their Excellencies to a Banquet on the night of the 2nd December. At the termination of the Dinner His Highness addressed the company as below:—

*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—It is with the sincerest pleasure that I rise to propose the health of my distinguished guests, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Chelmsford. I need hardly assure them how much I have been looking forward to their long deferred visit to my State, and how anxious I am that they should thoroughly enjoy it. Your Excellency has been received with enthusiastic welcome by my people wherever you have been, and you could have no clearer proof than this of the deep-seated loyalty and affection which they cherish towards the King-Emperor and the British Nation whose representative you are in India. Time can only strengthen the ties which unite us to the British Government.

Your Excellency's name and that of Mr. Montagu, one of the most talented and sympathetic Secretaries of State that India has ever had, will always be associated with India's march towards the goal of Self-Government under the aegis of the British Crown. Your Excellency's services to India will, I am sure, receive that full measure of approval from its people which I feel they deserve. It is only after the din of controversy has subsided that the handiwork for which you

*State Banquet at Mysore.*

have made yourself responsible can be seen in its true perspective, but I am confident that Your Excellency's name will ever live in the memory of the people of this vast country as the Viceroy who secured for India a higher status among the nations of the world and a real step forward in the path towards political freedom.

When I had the pleasure of receiving Lord Hardinge in November 1913, I placed before him an account of the measures which I was either carrying out, or had in contemplation, for improving the administration of the State and developing its natural resources. Without attempting any detailed review of the recent administration of my State, I may say, briefly, that during the last six years, increased attention has been paid to the material and moral development of the country. Under Education, we have established a University and have also adopted a definite programme which will, we hope, in the near future, make universal primary education in the State an accomplished fact. Industrial education and development in which Your Excellency has so greatly interested yourself from the very commencement of your term of office has been receiving our special attention. We are expanding our Railway system, and have also in progress two large projects—the Reservoir at Kannambady and the Iron Works at Benkipur.

It has been my aim to associate the people, as far as possible, with the administration of the State through the agencies of the Legislative Council, the Representative Assembly, and the "Economic Development Board."

We have, in common with the rest of India, recently passed through very anxious times owing to the great war, now happily ended, to a succession of bad seasons, and to the epidemic of influenza, which took such a terrible toll of life among my people. Until three months ago, we were feeling very anxious about the season conditions, but fortunately the plentiful rains which a merciful Providence has since sent us have considerably allayed our anxieties regarding this year's harvest. The food crisis at one time assumed a very serious aspect, but thanks to the timely help given by the Government of India, in affording us facilities for importing food-grains, we were able to cope

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*State Banquet at Mysore.*

successfully with a most difficult situation. I cannot feel too grateful to Your Excellency's Government for the valuable assistance thus rendered to us. Your Excellency will be sorry to learn that the present high rate of exchange is causing us serious financial loss. I cherish the hope, however, that with the help of Your Excellency we may be able to overcome this difficulty also in a satisfactory manner.

I do not propose to take up any more of Your Excellency's time, but I cannot let the occasion pass without referring especially to Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford's noble work on behalf of the women of India, to her merciful efforts to ameliorate the condition of a poor and afflicted section of humanity, and to the practical help and sympathy which she has rendered to sick, wounded and disabled soldiers. In conclusion, may I express the hope that Lady Chelmsford and yourself and Miss Thesiger will enjoy your stay among us, and that you will carry away with you pleasant memories of your visit to Mysore? If there is any one who deserves in the amplest measure a period of rest and relaxation, it is, I am sure, Your Excellency, who has been carrying a grievously heavy burden of anxiety and responsibility during the whole period of your Viceroyalty. I earnestly hope that the closing period of Your Excellency's administration may be one of comparative peace and quietness, and that when the time comes for you to lay down your high office, Your Excellency may do so with a feeling of satisfaction at having conferred great and lasting benefit on this ancient land.

I ask you, now, ladies and gentlemen, to drink to the health of Their Excellencies.

The Viceroy replied as follows :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—Let me thank Your Highness and you, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of Lady Chelmsford and myself, for the most kind way in which you have proposed and honoured the toast to which I am now replying. I must also thank Your Highness for the splendid reception given us in Mysore and for all that has been done to interest and entertain us. We have for long been looking



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forward to our visit to this beautiful country, and, from what we have so far seen, it is certain that in this case true pleasure does not lie only in anticipation.

Your Highness has spoken in flattering terms about my work in India, and has said that it will receive the approval of the people. This is not the occasion for me to speak at length on the political affairs of British India, and I will only say that I am touched by the kindness of your words, and that if time proves, as I believe it will, that the changes initiated during my term of office are destined to bring greater happiness and enlightenment to the people of this great country, I shall be more than content.

Your Highness has told us that your aim has been to associate your people as far as possible with the administration of the State through the agency of the Legislative Council, the Representative Assembly and the Economic Development Board. I know that Your Highness has continued to build on the foundations which were laid during the fifty years of British administration and the real and steady advance in the government of the State since the rendition and the success of the measure of representation which Your Highness has granted to your subjects are proofs that the trust of the Government of India was not misplaced when they decided to restore Mysore to the rule of its Maharajas.

Your Highness has touched but lightly on your many schemes for the improvement and development of your State and for the welfare of your subjects, but I have learnt more about them from a perusal of your Dewan's address to the Representative Assembly at the Dasehra last October. The account he gives of what has been and is being done

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constitutes a record of substantial progress, and it is the more remarkable because it was achieved in the unpropitious circumstances of late years. In spite of war, in spite of bad seasons and food scarcity, in spite of a terrible epidemic—the three most adverse influences conceivable—the administration has continued to advance, to improve and to develop. Where there is so much that is excellent, it is difficult to single out any features for special notice, but I cannot refrain from commenting on the wisdom and foresight which is alive to the importance of large revenue-producing schemes of railway construction, irrigation works, electrical, agricultural, mining and industrial development, but does not omit to care for the education and welfare of women and of the *panchamas*. If the less fortunate but more numerous classes of the community are kept in darkness, there is no true democratic progress. If the education of women is neglected, the chances of the rising generation are gravely prejudiced. The more generally this is realised, the brighter will be the hopes for the country's future ; and the happier the lot, and the greater the influence for good, of the mothers of your sons.

Your Highness has kindly referred to Lady Chelmsford's interest in the welfare of the women of India and of the sick and wounded soldiers, and I wish to thank you on her behalf for what you have said, and to assure you that there is nothing nearer to her heart, and that nothing can please her more than to hear that any efforts to ameliorate their condition or alleviate their sufferings have been attended with success.

I regret to learn from your Dewan's address that some minor ventures undertaken by the Department of Industries have not met with the success that was anticipated for them. In this connection I will remark that if Your Highness at any

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time desires to avail yourself of expert advice not procurable in the State, I shall be only too glad to place at your disposal the services of the specialists of the Government of India. Your Highness' financial advisers, like those of the Government of India, are no doubt experiencing great difficulty under prevailing conditions, in finding funds for important schemes of industrial and social development, whether already inaugurated or as yet merely planned. Retrenchment and caution are depressing watchwords when needs and opportunities call us to action, but financial stability is an essential condition of progress and the interests of future generations compel us to conserve our energies.

I am extremely pleased to learn that the policy of the Government of India in controlling the movement of food-stuffs has operated to the benefit of the Mysore State, and I trust that, with the advent of peace and a plentiful harvest, no more difficulties in obtaining supplies may be experienced.

Your Highness has referred to the financial losses occasioned by the exchange situation, and has indicated a hope that the Government of India may be able to render you assistance in the matter. I can assure you that the question is receiving the special attention of His Majesty's Government and of the Government of India. I do not think that it is generally understood how little the solution of the exchange difficulties lies in our hands. It depends on many and very diverse factors, over which we can exercise no control. We are, however, as Your Highness is no doubt aware, taking whatever measures appear feasible to alleviate the situation.

Your Highness, with characteristic modesty, has said nothing of the part which you yourself and the Mysore State have played in the great war. I am glad that this is so,

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because it gives me the opportunity of mentioning the splendid assistance which you have given to the British Empire in men, money and material. When war was declared, Your Highness placed the resources of the State at the disposal of the Government of India, and your Imperial Service Cavalry and Transport Corps were mobilised in the following month. They proceeded overseas, as we all know, and in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia they acquitted themselves worthily of their reputation and the good name of the State and earned the highest praise from the military authorities. Colonel Desraj Urs, their veteran Chief Commandant, after 22 years of command is, I learn, now retiring. It must be a source of satisfaction to him that before the close of his military career he has shared with them the honour which they have won for themselves on the field of battle. His Imperial Majesty was pleased to confer on him the rank of Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army, and I am glad to be able to congratulate him on this public occasion. I must also congratulate Your Highness on the many distinctions and mentions in Despatches won by officers and men of your Imperial Service Troops.

In the matter of recruiting for the Army, the State was not backward, but provided nearly 5,000 recruits. Money too flowed in a generous stream from Mysore. Your Highness, within a few days of the outbreak of war, offered 50 lakhs of rupees towards the cost of the Indian Expeditionary Force. This was followed by a further gift of 10 lakhs, and a subscription of 14 lakhs to Relief Fund, and of 105½ lakhs to the War Loan and Treasury Bills. Your Highness also declined to accept the sum of 11 lakhs offered by the Government of India to recoup you for the cost of mobilisation of your

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Imperial Service Troops. The people of Mysore supplemented this by gifts and subscriptions of 45 lakhs of rupees, bringing the total amount of contributions from the State and people to nearly 2 crores of rupees, a really magnificent figure.

Lastly, Mysore rendered most valuable help by supplying hides, tanning material, blankets and fodder for the use of His Majesty's armies. Again at the outbreak of war with Afghanistan Your Highness unhesitatingly placed all the resources of your State at the disposal of the Government of India.

His Majesty the King-Emperor was graciously pleased to bestow on Your Highness the title of Knight Grand Commander of the British Empire in token of his appreciation of the loyalty evinced by Your Highness and Your Highness' subjects during the great war.

I think I have said enough to show that in the great crisis the Maharaja of Mysore and the Mysore State proved once again to the fullest extent the strength of their traditional friendship and loyalty to the Crown.

I am glad to have this public opportunity of expressing my thanks to your Resident, the Hon'ble Mr. Cobb, who will shortly be laying down his high office and bringing his active service in India to a close. Doyen though he be of the Madras Civil Service, it is difficult to believe that a man so full of vigour and enthusiasm should be passing into retirement and I have little doubt that Mr. Cobb will find at home an outlet for his energies.

Throughout his long and varied career Mr. Cobb has been actuated by the highest principles and, here in Mysore, by whole-hearted devotion to the interests and welfare of the

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*Address from the Kolar Gold-Fields Mining Board.*

State, and I do not doubt that through these qualities he has won your respect and esteem.

I was very pleased to hear that a son and heir had been born to His Highness the Yuvaraj and I offer Your Highness and Your Highness' brother my congratulations. This happy event occurred within a few days of the signing of the peace treaty with Germany and I trust that peace and prosperity may be his lot throughout life.

It is a source of the greatest satisfaction to me that I am visiting Mysore at a time when, after years of war and scarcity, peace and favourable rainfall give hope once more of an era of calm and prosperity.

May Your Highness live for many years of health and happiness in which to continue your good work for the welfare of your State and your subjects.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of a loyal and enlightened Prince, Colonel His Highness Sir Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, Maharaja of Mysore.

**ADDRESS FROM THE KOLAR GOLD-FIELDS MINING BOARD.**

Their Excellencies motored to Marikuppam on the morning of the 12th Decem-  
12th December. In replying to an Address of Welcome from the ber 1919.  
Mining Board, His Excellency said—

*Gentlemen*,—It has been a great pleasure to me to follow in the footsteps of my predecessors, Lord Curzon, Lord Minto, and Lord Hardinge, and to be able to pay a visit to the gold-fields. I acknowledge with most sincere thanks the warm welcome which you have shown to Lady Chelmsford and myself. Our visit promises to be of very vivid interest

*Address from the Kolar Gold-Fields Mining Board.*

and I am greatly pleased to have this opportunity of seeing at first-hand the progress of this important industry.

Its importance is shown by the fact that, since it was established in 1882, you have extracted over fifty-two million pounds worth of gold, that you have paid in royalty to the Mysore Durbar about two and three-quarters million pounds, and that you give employment to over twenty-six thousand persons, to whom you disburse each year over six hundred thousand pounds in salaries and wages.

The mines are public benefactors. The production of gold at the present moment is of special importance in view of our currency difficulties ; the State of Mysore is benefited by the large royalties paid to it ; and, what is of no less importance, admirable provision is made, I learn, for the health and material well-being of your workmen. You rightly pay attention to the important matter of vital statistics and I gather that for this and for the satisfactory results of your medical and sanitary measures much credit is due to Dr. O'Donnell.

I am pleased to hear that you appreciate the ungrudging support given to you by His Highness the Maharaja. His Highness has indeed merited your thanks and has shown his wisdom by supporting the mining industry by the provision of electric power from the Cauvery Falls, by the construction of a railway, by the provision of a filtered water-supply and by arranging for your representation on the State Advisory Council.

It must be a source of satisfaction to you that, in spite of war conditions and the consequent shortage of men and material, there has been little falling off in the output of the

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*Address from the Kolar Gold-Fields Mining Board.*

mines. The Mining Board are to be congratulated on the manner in which they have faced and overcome the difficulties which confronted them.

In your address you have modestly refrained from touching on the loyal and very remarkable help given during the war by the Mining Board and by those resident in the gold-fields. The Board itself gave valuable assistance to the Board of Munitions. Mr. Cooke, the Chairman of the Board, in 1918, fully merited the honour which was conferred on him in recognition of his public spirit, and he and the members of the Board deserve the acknowledgments of the Government of India.

Similarly, the residents of the area have earned the gratitude of us all for their activities in connection with the war. Your community, though not a large one, subscribed more than two lakhs of rupees to the various war charities. In connection with "Our Day" fund, nearly twenty-eight thousand rupees were collected, towards which all the employees of the mines contributed a day's pay. Over half a lakh of rupees was given to the Madras Hospital-ship. Excellent work was done on behalf of the St. John Ambulance and the Red Cross Associations, in which the ladies of the station played a most prominent part. Nor were the claims of the British soldiers in the neighbouring cantonment of Bangalore overlooked. One of the best frequented of the institutes maintained there by the Young Men's Christian Association was largely financed by friends at Kolar. Much kindness was also shown to the numerous parties of British soldiers who visited the Kolar Gold-Fields, where several hundred of them were entertained most hospitably.



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In brief, the war activities of Kolar deserve very special commendation, and I am glad to have this opportunity of publicly thanking all those concerned.

Gentlemen, I will detain you no further. I hope I have said enough to show that the importance of the work which you have done for the community at large, for your employees and for the soldiers is not unappreciated. I wish you all continued and increasing prosperity.

#### CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

5th January  
1920.

During Their Excellencies, stay in Calcutta the Viceroy, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, attended the Convocation held on the afternoon of the 5th January. After the presentation of the diplomas, His Excellency addressed the Convocation as follows :—

*Your Excellency, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Gentlemen,*—Once again I have the honour and privilege of presiding over your Convocation. It is, alas, one of the few opportunities which I have of showing my personal interest in the work of your University. The Viceroy and the Government of India are so far removed from you that it is well nigh impossible to take that personal part in your affairs that our statutory position demands, and it will be one of the changes which will be the result of the Report of the Commission that your Governor will become the Chancellor, and the Viceroy will be connected with you only in the position of Visitor. This is as it should be, because from our remoteness from you it is impossible to act except after consultation with and through your Rector. This procedure is obviously inconvenient and it is to the public interest that it should be ended. Though then it will be a

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matter of personal regret both on my part and, I am sure, on the part of my successors, that we shall not be so closely identified with your affairs, yet I am sure it is in the interest of the good government of your University that your Chancellor should reside in Calcutta and be personally acquainted with your problems and the *personnel* whose appointment to office it will be his responsibility to make.

I will not dwell at length on the history of the past three years. You will remember that I announced the appointment of the Commission just three years ago, and I stated then that so far as in me lay, its composition should be of the strongest possible character on the educational side and that educational qualifications should alone be considered. I added that I hoped to get as many as three educational experts from England. As a matter of fact I did more than this; I got four, namely, Dr., now Sir, Michael Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds; Dr. Gregory, a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Professor in the University of Glasgow; Mr. Ramsay Muir, a Professor in the University of Manchester; and Mr. Hartog, the Academic Registrar of the University of London. The members selected in India were Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, whose interest in your University is so well known; Mr. Hornell, the Director of Public Instruction; and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, a Professor at Aligarh. Such was the constitution of this Commission. I think you will agree with me that it carried the highest academic authority. The terms of reference were wide and permitted of investigation along the whole gamut of University activities—from the qualifications to be demanded of students on their admission to the sphere of higher research. I was determined to afford every

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opportunity to the Commission to lay the foundations of a constructive policy, and I told you that I hoped that their Report would be of equal educational value to that of the London University Commission.

I do not think that we have any reason for disappointment. The Report is a monument of academic wisdom. Your University may well be proud that it has been selected, so to speak, as the text of what I prophesy will pass down to future generations as one of the weightiest of educational sermons ever preached. If the Commission have been insistent in pointing out your shortcomings, they have dealt with them sympathetically and have been quick to suggest the appropriate remedies.

What are those remedies? Broadly speaking, the Commission have advocated two lines of reform. In the first place they have aimed at raising the ideal of university education and focussing university effort and activity upon problems which are its proper subject. With this end in view they have proposed that the intermediate stage of education, which in reality is a school stage, should be relegated to that part of the educational system to which it properly belongs and that the University should be relieved, by the creation of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, of an onerous part of the functions which it has hitherto performed. They have also proposed far-reaching changes in the University of Calcutta itself and the creation of a unitary University at Dacca, possibly followed by others at other places. In the second place, they have sought to pave the way for the introduction of much-needed variety in our courses. It is hoped that the new Board, the Intermediate Colleges and the examination which will close their curricula

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will afford not merely a passage into the University, but also a useful training for various walks of life, and that the scheme will assist in opening new vistas of employment and aiding the industrial development which we all hope to see materialise.

The aims of the Commission, therefore, were to raise and to broaden. The procedure through which these objects are to be achieved, will necessarily be a work of time. But it was the desire of my Government to lose no time in assisting you to set forth without delay on the path of these reforms. To this end, three things had to be done at once. The machinery had to be brought together for the conduct of secondary and intermediate education as now conceived. Legislation had to be drafted for the reorganization of the Calcutta University. Legislation had to be introduced for the creation of the Dacca University. If we were not to be accused of dilatoriness—a charge not infrequently laid at the door of the Government of India—we had to move swiftly. Hence it was impossible at the initial stages to consult all whom we should have desired to consult. What we had to do was to hammer out something in a crystallised form which might serve as the basis for discussion. But, this foundation once laid, we desired that our subsequent operations should be conducted in the most open manner possible and that the ultimate form of our structure should be modified in the light of intelligent criticism. I shall now briefly explain to you this procedure.

The Dacca University Bill, as you all know, has already been introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council, where I am glad to say it had an encouraging reception. It was necessary and possible to introduce this Bill at once. We

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had to discharge our obligations, already long delayed, to the people of Dacca. The scheme was an old one, already accepted in principle. The proposals of the Commission were simple. The University will be a new institution, so we were able to work on a clean slate without fear of injuring prescriptive rights or vested interests. Moreover, the scheme is self-contained and does not necessarily commit us to the acceptance of other portions of the Report. I am glad that the Senate of your University have expressed their appreciation of the assurances given to them by Government upon this point. Of course I quite admit that the better way would have been to introduce all our proposals at once. But references were inevitable and legislation is not a light matter, to be framed in a few days. The task would have been physically impossible. We, therefore, did what seemed to us best in the matter. I think that perhaps there were two ideas which had at first troubled some of you. One was that the Government of India would put through the Dacca scheme and then suddenly spring some novel proposal upon Calcutta. I need hardly say that such was never our intention. Our intention is to follow out as closely as may be the lines of the Report. The other idea possibly was that Dacca might be given a long start and that the new University would in this way be a great financial gainer. As a matter of fact we had already put aside and earmarked the money for Dacca, and we have made no secret of this. The arrangements were publicly announced from time to time in the Imperial Legislative Council. I do not conceal from myself the fact that the financing of the schemes proposed by the Commission will give considerable difficulty. But whatever funds may be made available for Calcutta will not be curtailed by the expenditure of the money

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which has already been definitely promised for the initiation of the University of Dacca.

The two remaining questions are more involved and more controversial. A rough draft dealing with the Commission's proposals for the University of Calcutta has already been made, but not expressed in legal language, nor examined from the point of view of legislation. It was made with all possible speed so as to permit of the introduction of the Bill in February next, because it was thought that the Senate would appreciate the possibility of consideration of its terms before the Bill for the University of Dacca had been passed. But your Senate has requested that legislation for the reconstitution of the University of Calcutta be postponed until at least six months have elapsed from the date on which the volumes containing the evidence are placed in the hands of its members. Now some of those volumes have already appeared; and the Report itself, which was published nearly five months ago, contains a mass of extracts from the evidence of witnesses. I observe, too, that as soon as the Report appeared, three committees were appointed by the Senate and the Post-Graduate Councils to examine the Report from different points of view. Again, I ask you, is it easier, is it more profitable, to make a critical study of the provisions for the reconstitution of the University in the pages of the Report, which are necessarily and properly filled with argument and the presentation of reasons, or in the clear-cut clauses of a Bill? I admit that the Report is a fascinating document—so lucid and so distinguished in style that, when one takes up a volume, it is difficult to tear one's self away from it before the conclusion. But the Fellows of the University are, I believe, for the most

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part, busy men ; and, while I do not accuse any one of them of not having read from cover to cover the five volumes of the Report and the succeeding volumes of evidence which have appeared—indeed I am sure they have read them all, perhaps more than once ; yet the work entailed is not merely one of reading. The points have to be gathered together and focussed ; and one knows how long and intricate a task this is. I am sure that most of those who desire to express their opinions would have welcomed the appearance of a draft in which the recommendations of the Commission were translated from the glowing and smooth periods of their Report into the cold and clear-cut language of a legislative measure. With such a document before him it would have been easy for one who wished seriously to study the problems to turn back to those pages of the Report or of the evidence which deal with the subject of any particular clause ; and this mode of presentation is calculated to sharpen rather than to dull the critical faculty. However, it is clear that your Senate desires some delay ; and my Government is anxious to respect its wishes. The Bill will accordingly not be introduced in the forthcoming session. Instead, the Government of India will, as soon as possible, issue a resolution, setting forth the lines on which they deem that the Commission's recommendations can be carried out in the most practical manner. This will serve to acquaint the public at the earliest possible date with the intentions of the Government of India. The draft of a Bill on the lines indicated in the Resolution will be published as soon as may be—it is hoped by the end of April. The Government of India will reserve to themselves the decision as to the time and method of placing it before the Council, and before a Select Committee and of passing it.

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The third big matter, which is in reality the most important of all, is the reorganisation of secondary and intermediate education. It stands upon a different footing. For, once the principles embodied in this important proposal are accepted, the working out of the details must rest with the Local Government, whether that be the Government of Bengal or whether it be the Governments of other provinces which consider the scheme suitable for adoption within their jurisdiction. Hence we have not attempted to formulate these proposals in anything approaching a Bill and, indeed, it seems questionable whether any special legislation will be required.

I return for one moment to the question of the Report itself. I have touched merely on the main points with which we have to deal at once, in order to create the machinery for the carrying out of the more strictly academic recommendations of the Report. These recommendations form a most valuable part of it, which it will be for the bodies created by legislation to consider. In the matter of such recommendations the Report is a mine of wealth. I believe that it is destined to take an honoured place among educational classics of the world. I believe that its proposals, when carried into effect, will exercise a very beneficial influence upon higher education in this province and elsewhere where they may be adopted. I do not mean that it will be found possible or desirable to follow the Report in every minute detail. Here and there administrative considerations may demand a modification. Public opinion may in some respects signify good reasons for a change. But I hope to see the main proposals of the Report substantially carried out and I would ask the hearty co-operation of you all in making these proposals a success. We shall have to pursue a policy of give and take.



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There will have to be a certain amount of self-abnegation by all parties concerned. But we should remember that we are all working for a common cause and that one of the greatest causes which can influence humanity. I believe that there is in Bengal at present a very keen desire for genuine improvement in educational methods, and I am persuaded that I shall not look in vain for whole-hearted assistance and co-operation in this matter.

Your University has recently received a munificent donation from one of its most distinguished representatives—I refer to Sir Rash Bihari Ghose. Words fail me to express in adequate terms the admiration I feel for the generosity and public spirit which has animated Sir Rash Bihari's action. It should be an inspiration to us all. There are few of us, even though we may have followed the profession of the law, who are in the financial position to follow his example. But we are all capable of imitating his public spirit and of contributing our mite through public service to the cause of our University. I would then urge upon all who are called to any office or administration in the same to use their best endeavour to further the cause of University Reform. Sir Michael Sadler and his eminent colleagues have in the main unanimously pointed out to us the way. Let us all see whether we cannot walk in it. We all of us have one aim in common—the furtherance of the good of our University, and no other. Surely we must hesitate before we decline to follow the path which the Commission has indicated. The eyes of the Educational World are upon you. The Report is now the property of the world, and the world will pass its judgment upon your decision. I look forward with confidence to it.

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There is one more matter to which I should like to make a brief allusion, and that is the formation of your University Corps. No one who has been present at the past two Convocations can but have been impressed by the smart appearance of the Guard-of-Honour and the outward and visible effect of their training. But I am glad to hear that it is not only in these outward matters that the Corps has had a marked effect upon its members. The members of the Corps have shown themselves to be not only smart in their outward appearance, but to have been no whit behind their fellows in their intellectual achievements. I can only attribute this to the excellent effect which the physical exercises demanded by drill has upon them. The old Latin tag *Mens sana in corpore sano* is always true, and if a man takes care of his body it must follow, as the night the day, that the healthiness of his physical frame will react upon his mind. I have always felt the very deepest interest in the prosperity of your University Corps; each year that I have been here I have taken consultation with those who are interested in it as to its welfare and its progress, and each year I have been able to do something to improve the conditions under which it exists. I am convinced that we have in the University Corps a body of which not only the University will be proud, but which will itself have a most valuable influence upon the life of the University. You may depend upon it that I will not relax my interest in its welfare and that I will do everything in my power to foster it and to make it a success.

We are now on the threshold of great changes. I look to those who come out from your University, having reaped the benefits which a University can give, to take a great part in the social, the political and the industrial development of this

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country. I have said it before, but I will say it once again. Through the industrial development which is now beginning, I look forward to finding fresh avenues for the employment of your graduates. But let me impress this upon them with all the earnestness in my power. Theory divorced from workshop practice can never make masters of industry. Masters of industry must have gone through the mill. They must be acquainted with all the detail of the manual work which goes to make an industry. They must be ready to commence at the bottom. Otherwise, it is impossible that they should control and guide those whom they employ. And looking at the problem from the other side, let me impress upon the employers the advantage of having men in their service of good general education. One of the most marked features of commercial and industrial development in England at the present moment is the use to which the great firms are putting University men. They are aware of the value of a sound education, and they are enlisting in their service men of academic distinction. I look forward to this happening here, but do not mistake me, the mere possession of a degree does not in itself qualify for such employment. Indeed, if you misunderstand the meaning of University training, it may be a positive disadvantage. A degree means no more than that you have passed through certain strictly limited tests; and if you regard it by itself as the certain passport to professional, industrial or commercial success, you will find yourselves grievously mistaken. But the fact that you have gone through the intellectual training of a University career should give you an incalculable advantage over those who have not had a similar training. Your efforts, however, must not be relaxed. You will have to go to school again in your new

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surroundings beginning from the lowest form, but with this great encouraging fact to help you that your University training has given you an agility and nimbleness of mind which will go far to enable you to outdistance your rivals in the race for promotion. For the rest it must depend upon yourself. I think then that it has been a happy coincidence that the great Commissions on Industrial Development and on University Reform should have reported together, and if we can only carry through the recommendations of these two great Commissions, we may hope that there is a bright future opening out to the graduates of this University in the industrial development of their country.

The message then which I leave you is one of high encouragement, of faith in the benefit which changed conditions will confer upon you, of exhortation to equip yourselves manfully for the new era which is dawning. The spell of old tradition influences us all, and tradition is a valuable asset in educational institutions. But the present is a time of world-wide readjustment of the older order of things. Among the problems which the last few years have brought into prominence none is more important, none has been more copiously discussed, than that of education. We have come to one of those points in the world's history when a great cataclysm—in this case the great war—suddenly launches out the waters which have long been heaped up into a more rapid current and events and developments, which normally would have been spread over many years, succeed one another in a startlingly short space of time. Here the auguries of change are all of the happiest for you. Do not be slow to observe them. In England, as you know, great alterations are being made in the educational system to meet new requirements. Let us

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not be behind-hand here. The youths of Bengal require that training which will enable them to seize the advantages which now offer. It is fortunate that just at this moment we have been able to obtain from the Commission wise counsels and courageous guidance. Where the way was dark and doubtful it is now illumined for us, I believe, if we follow courageously where our guides have beckoned us, this University will win the prize of its high calling.

At the conclusion of his speech, His Excellency made over to the Vice-Chancellor a medal, which has been forwarded by the University of Paris for presentation to the Calcutta University in recognition of the services rendered by her in the domain of science during the war. His Excellency said :—

*Gentlemen*,—There remains one pleasing duty for me to perform before we proceed to other business. I cannot do better than quote the words of M. Laronce, Consul-General for France. He writes “ The University of Paris has, in memory of the Great War, coined a medal representing ‘ Science at the service of the right ’ in order to remind the services rendered by teachers and pupils either on the battlefields or in their study-rooms and laboratories by their work.

I have received from the Government of the French Republic the pleasant mission to hand over that medal to the University of Calcutta for the services rendered by India to the common cause of the Allies.”

This medal will, I am sure, be reckoned among your treasured possessions and I would express on behalf of this

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*Chambers of Commerce Conference at Calcutta.*

University our gratitude to our sister University of Paris for her gift.

I have great pleasure in presenting the medal to the Vice-Chancellor as the representative of the University of Calcutta.

**CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE CONFERENCE AT CALCUTTA. 8th January 1920.**

His Excellency the Viceroy opened the Conference of the Chambers of Commerce in India, Burma and Ceylon, which commenced its sittings in the hall of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, on the afternoon of the 8th. The Hon'ble Mr. Crum presided and there was a very large attendance which included His Excellency the Governor and Sir George Barnes.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. E. Crum, President of the Chamber, said — Your Excellencies, in January 1905 there was held in Calcutta the first conference of the Indian Chambers of Commerce. When that conference was held it was intended to make it an annual conference, but for some reason this was not carried out. Possibly it was because there was no real moving spirit behind the conference. We have now formed an association of the leading Chambers of Commerce of India and we have made it one of our rules that we shall hold every year in India at the different centres of business interest a conference of Chambers. The conference held in January 1905 was opened by the Hon'ble Sir Edward Law, Finance Member, and associated with him was Sir John Hewett, the first Member for Commerce in India. To-day we have the honour of having our conference opened by His Excellency the Viceroy and associated with him are His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and Sir George Barnes. Mr. Apcar, who was President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce at the time of the last conference, in making his opening speech, used the

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following words :—"These conferences, bringing together, as they do, the leading commercial representatives of the country, are able, speaking with an united voice, to make the wants and wishes of the commercial community known and are of assistance to Government as well as to the interests of commerce." If in those days it was necessary to make our wants and wishes known to the Government how much more so is it likely to be now and in the future? Therefore I have every confidence that this conference of Chambers will be doing a real work of good. I will now ask His Excellency to open the conference.

The Viceroy then addressed the gathering as follows :—

*Gentlemen*,—I am very glad to have this opportunity of attending the first meeting of your new Association of Chambers of Commerce, and to congratulate you on the spirit of co-operation which has brought your Association into being and to wish you a long and useful career. I am quite sure that periodical meetings to discuss the numerous commercial problems which will always confront you, will be found of great value to yourselves; and, in those matters in which your difficulties arise out of Government regulations in commercial affairs, or which impinge on large questions of Government policy, it will always be greatly to the advantage of Government to have your united counsels before them, for, as you must be aware, it has frequently happened that, in obtaining the views of the various Chambers, we have had the most divergent opinions presented to us. Perhaps in a number of matters I am unduly optimistic in hoping for united counsels; but at any rate, where opinions differ, a free discussion will, I am sure, often lead to a reasonable and practicable solution. Now you will not, I am sure, expect me to address you in any detail on the numerous problems which you may wish to raise with Government. I only

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want to touch very briefly on some of the wider questions which involve decisions of general policy.

First, I will take the question which, I feel, is in the minds of all of you, namely, trade after the war. The war has made great changes in the course of Indian trade, and my Government feel that, after the awful upheaval of this world-wide war, some special measures are necessary to help our merchants and our manufacturers to adapt themselves to the new conditions. We are not going to allow ourselves to drift back to the position in which we were before the war. We are not going to allow our enemies forthwith to return to this country and resume business as if no war had occurred. We propose, as you will all have seen from a press communiqué which has recently issued, altogether to exclude Germans from India for a period of years. We want the Germans as our customers, for I do not suppose that any one will seriously suggest that we are to do no trade with Germany—a policy of cutting off our nose to spite our face—but we are not prepared at the present time to allow the Germans to handle Indian trade in this country. Many of you, I know, would go further and would prevent all aliens from engaging in trade of any kind in this country, except under license. I think that it will clear the air if I say at once that this is no part of the policy of my Government. I am not going now to discuss the question of existing Treaties with foreign countries, but even if it were practical politics, which I do not admit, to insist on all foreigners being licensed to trade, it would mean, if it meant anything at all, that licences would be granted in one case and refused in another. A policy of this kind would give rise to inevitable diplomatic difficulties, to endless



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dissensions and complications, and to serious danger of retaliation. I am convinced further that any attempt to strangle foreign trade in this way would in the long run be against our best interests. It was not on a foundation of restrictions that the trade of India was built up, and it is not through restrictions that it will continue to develop. The welfare of our trade will, in future, as in the past, rest on the initiative and energy of our merchants and our manufacturers,—their adaptability to new conditions, their readiness to seize new opportunities and to develop fresh markets. It will not rest on the elimination of competition by means of Government action. Those who have gone before you have built up a magnificent structure. It lies with you, and I have full trust in your powers, to enlarge it.

There is one subject, however, which I trust you will allow me, though a layman in these matters, to mention to you. It has been brought home to me that one of the gravest defects in our Commerce is our failure to study the machinery necessary to put our goods on the market. We may produce or import the best goods in the world, but unless we study how to market them, inferior goods produced by our rivals in trade will get the market. This defect, I remember, was pointed out to me by the British Trade Commissioner in Canada in 1914. He said that British goods, when once they got on to the market, maintained their position owing to their superiority, but as often as not they failed to get on to the market because the necessary machinery had not been studied or created. And here in India is not the same thing true? Take the little instance of matches. I have bought and continue to buy admirable matches from Rangoon, but I never see them on the market and we know how everywhere quite inferior imported

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matches hold possession of the field. We cannot be content with relying on the intrinsic merit of our goods alone. We must look to the marketing machinery and in view of the hope for development of Indian Industries we should assuredly study this aspect of the question very carefully.

Though my Government then are generally opposed to a policy of restrictions on aliens, we feel that it is necessary to retain some of the restrictions with regard to certain minerals such as coal and oil. It will be necessary for our own safety and the safety of the Empire that we should retain a hold over minerals of essential national importance, but we shall endeavour to reduce these restrictions as far as is compatible with the interests of India and the Empire at large.

In connection with the alien problem generally I should like to mention briefly a matter which, I understand, will form part of your deliberations. I refer to the movement in favour of a Registration of Business Names Act on the lines of the English Statute. Such an Act, if applied to India, would, I take it, not merely be designed to enable information to be obtained as to the true names of the aliens trading in this country, but would cover a wider ground and facilitate obtaining readily information as to the real names of the members of any firms trading under an assumed title. A measure of this kind might, I think, well make for a general improvement in commercial morality, especially in a country such as India where high-sounding titles attract perhaps more attention than they deserve. But I must remind you that the question is an exceedingly thorny one. It is one on which commercial opinion in the United Kingdom was sharply divided for many years, and it was only the

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stress of war and the necessity for obtaining a knowledge about alien traders in the country which eventually enabled a sufficient unanimity of opinion to be obtained for the passing of the English Act. In a matter of this kind, a reasonable amount of unanimity in commercial opinion, both European and Indian, seems to me an essential preliminary to legislation. Meanwhile, provincial legislation is in fact contemplated in Burma which, of course, is in the position of being more or less isolated from the rest of India and where the practical difficulties of the question, especially those which arise from the Hindu joint family, are not so acute.

I suppose that, when the subject of *post-bellum* trade policy is discussed, many people's minds will turn naturally to questions of tariffs. Our Indian tariff has, as you all well know, always been framed on a revenue basis. It has been, in theory at any rate, a tariff of uniform duties for revenue purposes only, and we have traditionally accepted a policy of free trade. No doubt it is possible to find exceptions to this broad statement in some of the items of our tariff, and it is certainly true that at least one recent addition to our tariff has been frankly based on grounds of protection. But while this is so, we must not shut our eyes to what is going on around us, and I would specially direct your attention to expressions of opinion in the Press and elsewhere, not only in this country, but in the United Kingdom. The fact is that pre-conceived opinions have been somewhat shaken by the events of the past five years, and now-a-days we are not prepared to accept the doctrines of our youth as something sacrosanct, inviolable, and capable of no exceptions whatsoever.

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Take, for instance, the large question of Imperial Preference. The principle of preferential duties within the Empire has been accepted already in many of the dominions, and has recently been inaugurated in the tariff of the United Kingdom. Would it, broadly speaking, be to the advantage or to the disadvantage of India to adopt it as part of our settled policy? I am not here going to attempt to answer the question or to pre-judge it in any way. It may be said that it has been pre-judged already by the rebate on the export duty on hides. With this I do not agree; there were special reasons in that case and those reasons were frankly stated in the Legislative Council last September. In fact, I may say that it is not the Government of India's intention to adopt a policy of preference as a general policy, without full discussion and full support from enlightened public opinion. But let the public be enlightened on the subject, and let no one express *a priori* ideas without a close examination of the statistics and of the conditions of the trades concerned. I should like to see the subject freely discussed, and I believe that you, gentlemen, could do a good deal to clarify ideas on the subject by a careful analysis of the effect of preferential duties on the trades in which you are severally interested. To the best of my recollection we invited you to do this some two or three years ago, but the replies we received did not reveal that careful examination of the statistics in respect of each different commodity which alone could give us the basis of a sound decision. What we want to do is to weigh the advantages and the disadvantages, and strike the balance between the two. I am far from minimising the extreme difficulty and complexity of the subject; but a careful study of it from the point of view of each of our principal trades ought to result in some tangible conclusion which will enable us to decide

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which way our interests lie. Of course it is our interests, that is to say, the interests of India, which we have first to look to, but it would be unwise to take a wholly parochial point of view, and in developing the tariff policy of the future, we ought to be able to evolve some system which will be to the advantage not of ourselves alone, but also of the Empire of which we are a part. For instance, I know that there has been some difference of opinion as to the value to the tea trade of the preference recently introduced in the United Kingdom. One would naturally be inclined to say *prima facie* that a preference given by the United Kingdom or by other parts of the Empire to certain articles produced in this country, in which we compete with other countries, must have some advantages to us, but we can hardly expect assistance if we give nothing in return.

I see that the question of labour is on your agenda for discussion, and it is, I think, clear that considerable changes in this field lie before us in the near future. Labour in India has hitherto been almost entirely unorganised and without leaders. Labour in India has hitherto been cheap, but it has also been as a whole greatly lacking in efficiency, with the result that the cost of production in India has not been able, in spite of the cheapness of labour, to compare favourably with the cost of production in Europe or in the United States of America. If we are to hold our own in competition with the nations of the world, we must have increased efficiency, and with this end in view, those of you who are large employers of labour will, I hope, take every step in your power to improve the conditions of the labour you employ, especially with regard to housing. Some of you, I know, have already done much in this direction and realize to the full that improved

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conditions of labour are as much to your personal interest as to the interest of the country at large.

You all know that an International Labour Convention has just been sitting in Washington, and we were asked to send there a single representative of the employers of India and a single representative of the workers. This limited representation made our choice extremely embarrassing, but I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that the employers of India were well represented by Mr. A. R. Murray, whose great experience and sound judgment must have proved most valuable to his colleagues at the Conference. We had great difficulty also in selecting a representative of the workers. Unions are practically non-existent in India, and labour is at present almost entirely unorganized. In these circumstances we chose Mr. Joshi, a member of the Servants of India Society, who, though not a workman himself, has devoted an unselfish life to the furtherance of the interests of the workmen, and I feel sure that our choice will have justified itself at the Conference.

Looking down your list of subjects for discussion, I see that there are several relating to railways. We realize, as fully as you, the vital necessity for railway development in India, and we have set aside an unprecedented sum to be spent on railways during the current financial year, but, as you are aware, there is much leeway to be made up on our existing lines in the way of general maintenance and in the provision of new rolling-stock. Deficiencies in this respect will be made good as quickly as possible, and, as supplies arrive, no time will be lost in bringing them into operation. Moreover, we have found ourselves in a position to make a start with new construction, though on a very moderate scale,

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but I confidently look forward to considerable progress being made in this direction in the very near future. Recent experiences have shown that the State's borrowing powers are greater than could have been contemplated only a few years ago, but even with the increased amounts thus made available, we have thought it well to make proposals to the Secretary of State that the enquiry into railway matters of which notice has already been given, and which will be instituted in the course of the present year, should embrace an examination of means by which further funds can be economically raised for the development of India by means of new railways. India needs all the railways she can get. It is impossible at the present time, and it will probably be so for some time to come, for India to build the railways she requires out of budget allotments or the proceeds of direct borrowing. Does not this point to the probability that private enterprise will have to be invited to enter upon this field? This is a problem to which you might devote your serious consideration.

The last specific question I shall touch on is that of Rice Control. The recent communiqué of the Government of India has no doubt attracted your attention. The question of rice control in Burma presents special problems. In 1919, India absorbed the greater part of the surplus available for export and we directed much of the balance to countries having a large Indian population. The Government of India considered that the interests of these consumers outweighed the claims of the Burma producer to make abnormal profits, and the control price was applied to all exports, whether in India or abroad. In the present year the situation is different, as India's requirements are likely to be much smaller and the greater part of the surplus will go to foreign countries. It is

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still necessary for us to keep down internal prices in the interests of our consumers, while at the same time it seems clearly desirable to obtain from our foreign customers a fair market price for the rice that we sell to them. It is conceivable that these two objects might be obtained simply by the limitation of exports, but if such a limitation proved effective in keeping down internal prices, the exporters would pocket the large difference between these and world prices, and would thus reap the whole of the profits which would otherwise be distributed between the cultivators, the dealers, the shippers and the various other interests concerned in the trade. The Government of India have felt it incumbent on them to devise a method of intercepting a considerable share of these profits for the benefit of the general community. The scheme of control in 1920, the details of which have recently been made public, has thus been formulated with the three-fold object of, *firstly*, preventing an undue rise in internal prices, *secondly*, obtaining a fair price for our exports, and *thirdly*, securing to the general community a share in the profits of the trade which would otherwise be concentrated in the hands of a comparatively small section. As the bulk of these profits will be taken from the Burma producer, it has been decided to make over the net proceeds, subject to a limit of a crore of rupees, to the Local Government for expenditure for the benefit of the cultivator. Should the profits exceed this figure, their allocation will be a matter for future consideration. A measure of this kind is bound to conflict with some established interest, and the Rice Commissioner will be authorized to modify it in detail to meet hard cases, but I hope that it will be recognized to be equitable in its broad principles, and that all concerned will co-operate to make it successful in achieving the three objects which I have explained.



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I turn now to the question of Industries and you will appreciate the difficulty I have in expressing anything but what are commonplaces on this subject.

It is obvious that, in consequence of their different geographical situations, the Chambers of Commerce in India must necessarily differ greatly in their attitude to the apparently opposed interests of local industries and external trade. Superficially regarded, the interests of these two—indigenous industries on the one hand and seaborne commerce on the other—seem to be opposed and competitive; and in specific lines this is literally true. But many members of the Chambers who are actively engaged almost solely in external trade, have wisely recognized that their interests in the long run will be improved, not diminished, by healthy development of indigenous industries, and I appreciate very much the sympathy and foresight which have been shown by the old established commercial houses regarding our special efforts to stimulate in this country the manufacture of those articles which have hitherto been obtained only by importation from abroad.

One of the past Presidents of the Bengal Chamber, Sir Francis Stewart, generously devoted much valuable time to the detailed work of the Industrial Commission; and in every province, maritime as well as inland, the Commission was given frankly and freely information and advice.

The attitude of the Chambers was wise as well as generous: the development of local industries will naturally diminish the demands for certain imports; the configuration of external trade may thus become modified and may necessitate a corresponding and often inconvenient modification of the activities of many commercial firms; but the development of

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internal industries must necessarily be followed by greater purchasing power and corresponding increase in the total value of imports. The importing firms may, therefore, I think, confidently look forward to enhanced trade as the result of the greater purchasing power of the community.

Apart from these purely economic considerations there are strong national reasons for extending the field of indigenous manufactures. During the war we realized the military advantage of the few local industries previously established here, especially the textile industries of cotton, jute and wool the indigenous manufacture of cement, the tanning of hides and the smelting of steel. But we felt also most acutely the absence of many other essential industries; and it is our duty to see that the dangers due to such deficiencies are reduced, if not completely eliminated in future.

The industries which assisted so conspicuously in contributing to the output of war material were, however, the result of unaided private enterprise. The Government only stimulated them by the flow of Government orders. As you know, however, we have now decided to organize a special department of the Central Government and corresponding departments in the provinces to undertake that part of the work which cannot fairly be left to any individual firm, especially the research work on raw materials, staple and accessory, on which indigenous industries are based. It will be the business of the new departments also to advise other departments regarding the subsidiary conditions essential for industrial development—the facilities for internal transport, the education of technical workers, the treatment of labour, and even, as may seem wise in the interest of the country as a whole, the fiscal conditions of trade.

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In developing the activities of the new departments your co-operation and criticism will always be necessary to ensure a healthy, well-balanced growth; to recognize in time the boundary between wholesome encouragement and enervating assistance; to balance the relative national claims of external trade and local manufacture. In these matters your criticisms will be necessary and welcome; and, judging by the way in which you have received the new policy as well as the critical—not necessarily adversely critical—spirit always shown in your reviews of official activities, Government can safely rely on the Chambers of Commerce for assistance.

It is impossible to enumerate the many ways in which your members individually and the Chambers as bodies assisted the war activities of Government departments, but your meeting at Calcutta reminds me especially of the valuable services rendered by the local Jute Mills Association. Through the voluntary co-operation of Mr. Murray, to whom I have already alluded in another connection, with Colonel Wilson, the Controller of Jute Manufactures, articles to the value of several crores of rupees were furnished to the Allies for direct war use and the essential functions of transporting food-stuffs. So far as our information goes, not a complaint was ever made regarding punctuality, quality or promptness of despatch whilst the distribution of orders among the mills resulted in effecting most substantial economies.

There are other subjects on which I should have liked to address you, as, for instance, Aviation and the Indian Defence Force, and I would have done so if I had been in a position to state anything definite with regard to them. But consultations are still proceeding on these matters as many of you

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know, and I am most anxious that we should not, as a Government, put forward any concrete proposals until we have taken counsel with all the various interests concerned, and are in a position to put forward something like an agreed solution. Time spent in consultation is never time misspent.

Further, Currency is a question about which you would have liked me to inform you, but here again I am not yet in a position to make any announcement beyond this, that we expect the Report in the middle of this month, and that arrangements are being made for its publication as soon as possible after receipt.

I have now finished. I have put before you my views on various questions which are engaging your attention. This is not a time, when so much is in the melting-pot, to deal in hazardous prophecy, and I am sure that you, as businessmen, would be the last to desire that, but my object in attending your meeting will have been achieved if I have convinced you that I and my colleagues take a real interest in your Association; that we shall watch its enlargement with sympathy; that we wish to take you into our full confidence, and that we look forward to your co-operation with us in the future.

Mr. J. F. Simpson, of the Madras Chamber, after thanking His Excellency for his sympathetic address in opening the Conference, made a reference to the isolation of His Excellency at Simla and at Delhi from the views of the Chambers of Commerce. Although he was surrounded by the best brains India contained, he was deprived of that warm personal contact with a great body of his fellow countrymen. He did not know whether the brains of the representatives of Commerce whom His Excellency met here were equal to the brains of those whom His Excellency met at Delhi or Simla and he hoped that the attendance at that Conference, which included such a large

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body, would assure His Excellency as to how intimate and warm their sympathy was. He did not think it would be out of place for him on behalf of the Chambers represented here to make a word of reference to the attacks made on His Excellency the Viceroy at the Indian National Congress at Amritsar. He did not pretend that His Excellency's policy and acts commended themselves to all of them, but when the commercial community fought they fought fair; they did not hit below the belt. There had been a great deal of that at the last Indian National Congress and he was sure that every Britisher here, apart altogether from the ordinary feelings of loyalty, would always rally round the Governor of the Province or the Viceroy. He was sure he was speaking for all the Chambers represented, every Britisher and also their Indian brethren present, when he said that they dissociated themselves from these attacks, and resented them. They wanted His Excellency the Viceroy to know that he had a warm place in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. Lord Selborne recently said at Home that not only were the references to the Viceroy at the Amritsar Congress a disgrace to India but a disgrace to the persons who uttered them. He was glad to find in a Madras paper a letter under the signature of an Indian gentleman, who entirely dissociated himself from the views expressed by a Madras delegate at the Congress.

His Excellency the Viceroy in reply acknowledged the vote of thanks and remarked that people who had not lived in Madras did not realise the pace at which the people there lived. When he was there for three days he was kept running as fast as he could. Some of them might think that they in Madras did things slowly, but this was by no means the case. Madras was always doing things at more than a trot. He was sure that they would realise from Mr. Simpson's speech that this was the spirit which animated Madras at the present time and he was sure this spirit would animate them all with regard to the Government's future policy on commerce and industry. They had now, the time when the world was free from its devastating war, an opportunity of developing

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their commerce and industry such as had never been given to a great country like this before. Therefore they must move not in a walk or in a jog-trot, but move at a gallop—the pace that Madras had always patronised. He could promise them two things. In the first place, they had in Sir George Barnes a man who would always bring ripe experience and sound judgment to bear upon any difficulties or problems which they might wish to put before him. In the next place, they had another man who was in full sympathy with all their desires and wants. In Sir Thomas Holland, who had just taken up the headship of the new Department of Industries, they had a man who was going to put life into that new department, which would by this time next year make its potent influence felt throughout India. His Excellency felt sure that the Chambers of Commerce would back him up and help in that drive because it would only be by a united drive by all of them that they could make up the leeway of so many years and establish industries in India on what he believed would be a sound basis and with a promise of rapid development in the near future. In conclusion he remarked that the Government were frequently accused of living on hill-tops and at distant places, but they could not be everywhere. If they came to live in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay would complain, If they lived in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta would complain, and if they lived in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta would complain. They had to live somewhere and he could assure them that the Government of India were only too delighted to work in co-operation with them all.

Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor then left and the Conference commenced its deliberations.

## STATE BANQUET AT BENARES.

13th January 1920. The Viceregal party paid a brief visit to Benares *en route* from Calcutta to Delhi. On the evening of the 13th January His Highness the Maharaja of Benares entertained the Viceroy, Lady Chelmsford and staff at a State Banquet. In reply to His Highness' speech proposing the health of Their Excellencies, the Viceroy said—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen*,—In acknowledging on my own behalf and also for Lady Chelmsford the cordial terms of Your Highness' speech I desire to thank you warmly for the pleasant hospitality with which we have been received during our visit to Benares.

As Your Highness reminds me the constitution of the Benares State is of recent date and I am glad to be able to offer my congratulations in person on the addition which has been made to its area this year under the gracious command of His Majesty the King-Emperor. By the transfer of the town of Ramnagar the State has now been rounded off in a manner which I trust entirely removes certain special difficulties of administration from which it formerly suffered. During the short space of my visit here I have not been able to see as much of the State as I could have wished, but the institutions which I have visited owe their existence to Your Highness' constant endeavours for the well-being of your subjects and they bear witness to Your Highness' wise conduct of affairs. I learn with special satisfaction of the progress that has been made under Your Highness' rule in the spread of education, and of Your Highness' intention to continue that progress beyond the borders of the State. Your Highness is a great land-owner in British India, and here too the responsibilities of rank and wealth have not been neglected. Many of the public institutions in Benares itself

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*State Banquet at Benares.*

owe their foundation, I believe, or a large part of their endowments to the gifts of the Maharaja of Benares, and a fine example of benevolence and charity has thus been set up. Having in the past established a tradition of thoughtful care of your people, the Great War found Your Highness anxious to make even greater sacrifices in the cause of the King-Emperor. It appears particularly appropriate in view of the earlier activities of the State that these have been specially in the cause of relief of sufferings. Both the Ambulance Corps and the War Hospital with which by Your Highness' desire the name of Lady Chelmsford was connected have been of notable value to the soldiers of the Empire.

I welcome this opportunity of expressing the gratitude of the Government of India to Your Highness and to your people for your very generous contributions towards the expenses of the war, and to funds connected with it. The record of the Benares State is, as Your Highness remarks, one of which you and your subjects can be justly proud.

Now that we again enjoy peace I am glad to hear of your projects for improving the material state of your subjects by industrial developments. Throughout India, as the Royal Commission has pointed out, the opportunities and needs are vast. At the same time a word of caution is needed. During the past six months many alluring schemes have been offered to the public for investment, but I fear that a considerable proportion of them will not realise the expectations which have been based on them. If there has sometimes been hesitation and lack of enterprise in the past, there is a danger at present of rashness and exuberance of imagination. In the choice of industries to be advanced it will be necessary for Your Highness to discriminate after obtaining the advice of



*Mahomedan Deputation and Address..*

competent experts, and then to press on suitable undertakings with the resources at your command.

As regards the question of constitutional changes in the administration of the State, to which Your Highness has alluded, Your Highness will have read the remarks which I made on the subject in my opening address at the Princes' Conference a few months ago. I know that the circumstances of the Benares State are peculiar since its people are not homogeneous and they have not behind them even the same developments of local self-government which have been attained in the neighbouring districts of British India. To break suddenly with past traditions would no doubt be hazardous, and I am confident that the course which Your Highness has laid down for guidance is wise.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will detain you no longer. I ask you to drink to the long life and continued prosperity of His Highness the Maharaja of Benares.

## MAHOMEDAN DEPUTATION AND ADDRESS.

19th January  
1920,

An influential and representative deputation of Mussalmans and Hindus representing the Khilafat Conference waited upon the Viceroy on the afternoon of the 19th January and presented an address, which was read by Mr. M. A. Ansari of Delhi. In reply His Excellency said—

*Gentlemen*,—I am glad to meet you here to-day not only because it enables me to hear from your own lips your views on the subject of the Turkish peace terms, but also because it affords me an opportunity of explaining to you and to the Mahomedan Community in India the attitude of the Government of India on this question; the efforts which have been made by them and by the Secretary of State to secure that the

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*Mahomedan Deputation and Address.*

opinions and feelings of Indian Mahomedans are adequately placed before the Peace Conference ; and the genuine sympathy which the Secretary of State and the Government of India alike feel for the Muslim subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor in their present very difficult position.

At the outset I desire to make it clear that neither I nor my colleagues in the Government are possessed of any secret information regarding the nature of the decision at which the Peace Conference will arrive. The reason is that no conclusions have yet, so far as I am aware, been reached. We share with the general public the information regarding the drift of events which Reuter's telegrams place at our disposal. We have seen conflicting rumours, which on the face of them are obviously pure surmises, emanating from enterprising journalists, but I would ask you to attach no importance to the cabled opinions of home newspapers which do not in any sense represent the opinions of His Majesty's Ministers. What we do know for certain is that there have been recent deliberations in London and that the Secretary of State is at this moment in Paris with the Prime Minister and is pressing the views of Indian Muslims with his accustomed energy and force before the final conference at which a decision will be made on this grave issue. The announcement of that decision may be, for all we know, a matter of a few days and it is at this juncture I desire again to assure the Mahomedans of India that no effort has been spared, no stone left unturned, to place before those, with whom the decision will rest, the plea of Indian Muslims for the most favourable possible treatment of Turkey. I repeat in this connection what I said in my opening speech to the Legislative Council assembled at Simla

*Mahomedan Deputation and Address.*

on the 3rd September last :—" I have throughout done all in my power to ensure full representation of the feelings of Mahomedans. Not only have the Government of India placed the views of Muslim India with strong emphasis before His Majesty's Government, our delegates voiced those views before the Peace Conference, and that nothing might be left undone to lend weight to their evidence, it was reinforced by three Muslims of distinction who had been specially delegated to attend the Peace Conference with them. Mahomedan India may therefore rest assured that its feelings have been given the fullest representation possible. "

I should like also to draw your attention to a recent utterance of the Secretary of State cabled to India a few days ago. Referring, in a press interview, to the question of the Turkish Peace he said that whatever decision the Allies arrived at, India might rest assured that the views of India were being voiced by India's representatives at all deliberations in Paris and London. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, Lord Sinha, His Highness the Aga Khan and he himself had emphasised the wishes and earnest plea of the Indian Mahomedans with regard to the importance to them and therefore to Imperial interests of the Turkish terms of peace.

I thank you, gentlemen, for the recognition you have accorded in your address to the efforts which have been made by the Secretary of State and myself to help in this matter, and it is a great satisfaction to me to know from your lips that they are appreciated by those whom you represent to-day.

From the nature of the case I cannot disclose in any detail the communications which have passed between us and the

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*Mahomedan Deputation and Address.*

representations which have been made by us, but I will endeavour to take you into my confidence and explain, so far as I am able, what action has been taken by the Secretary of State and my own Government to place your case before the Peace Conference. Shortly after the armistice I represented to the Secretary of State that feeling in India was much disturbed over the question of the Turkish peace terms and particularly with regard to the holy places in the Hedjaz and the future of Constantinople, and steps were taken to ensure that the views of Muslim India should be fully placed before the Conference by the representatives of India. The Indian delegation, as you know, was composed of the Secretary of State, the Maharaja of Bikaner and Lord Sinha, and I can assure you that they pressed the case for the favourable treatment of Turkey with an earnestness of purpose and force of argument which could not be surpassed. They had before them the memorial, dated the 1st January 1919, which was signed by prominent Mahomedans resident in Europe including, among others, His Highness the Agha Khan, the Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali, Sir Abbas Ali Baig and Mr. Yusuf Ali, and they made full use of all the arguments which were adduced by these distinguished gentlemen for the lenient treatment of Turkey and the consideration of the sentiments of Indian Muslims. I venture to think, gentlemen, that there is no relevant argument on behalf of Turkey which was not fully utilised by the Indian Delegation. The Delegation received a hearing from the Peace Conference in the middle of May, and as a result of the previous representations of my Government and the efforts of the Secretary of State, it was accompanied on the occasion by three prominent Indian Muslims, His Highness the Aga Khan, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and

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*Mahomedan Deputation and Address.*

Mr. Yusuf Ali. In the same month my Government again cabled to the Secretary of State urging upon him the importance, in any settlement of the Turkish peace terms, of considering the effect of these upon Mahomedan opinion in India. I may add that ever since the armistice, I have been unceasingly in private communication with the Secretary of State and have never failed to urge upon him, though this was hardly necessary as his views coincide so closely with my own, that Muslim feeling in India must be taken into most serious account in coming to a final decision.

I would remind you, however, that this is not a matter in which we are dealing only with the British Cabinet. The war was not a war between Turkey and Britain only, but other great Powers were also involved. The decision of Turkey to throw in her lot with the Central Powers undoubtedly prolonged the war and increased the grievous miseries caused thereby. Judgment is now being pronounced at Paris by a tribunal of all the Allied Powers and not by Great Britain alone. The future of Turkey is not being decided by His Majesty's Government but by the representatives of all the Powers.

And now, gentlemen, I come to the subject of your present address. I need hardly say, after what I have already said, that your troubles and difficulties have my most sincere sympathy.

I must, however, be candid and say that I cannot admit the validity of all your contentions. But no advantage would be gained were I to examine your memorial, paragraph by paragraph, in an argumentative spirit. What I do fully recognise is that the Mahomedans of India feel very deeply on this subject and that the occasion is not one for unprofitable controversy, particularly on religious points, but for ~~mutual~~ co-operation.

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*Mahomedan Deputation and Address.*

You desire to send a deputation to Europe to lay your views before the British Cabinet and if possible before the Paris Conference. I will do all I can to assist you in your mission and to enable you to represent the views of the Muslims of India at Paris. But, as I have said before, the decision may come upon us at any moment, and recognising the need for speedy action I have already cabled the gist of your address to the Secretary of State so that he may be in possession of it without delay, in the hope that this may strengthen his hands in dealing with the question.

I have only a few words more to add, and first, I desire to express my profound confidence that whatever the decision of the Allied Powers be in respect of Turkey's future, the Mahomedans of India will remain staunch in the allegiance and loyalty which they owe to the King-Emperor.

In the great war they made a generous and whole-hearted response to the call of the Empire. Their loyalty and assistance have been of the greatest value and thousands of Muslim soldiers have given their lives gallantly for India and the Crown in the many theatres of the war. Now that victory is won, I am confident that Indian Muslims will not waver in that attitude of steadfast loyalty to His Majesty.

On the matter of the Khilafat His Majesty's Government and my own Government have repeatedly made the declaration, which I now re-affirm, that the question of the Khilafat is one for Mahomedans, and Mahomedans only, to decide.

The contention, however, which you urge in your address that Turkey should preserve in full integrity the sovereignty and dominions which she possessed before the war is one which,

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*Mahomedan Deputation and Address.*

I fear, we cannot reasonably hope will be recognised by the Allied Powers in Conference. Before Turkey made her fatal mistake, His Majesty's Government had guaranteed that such integrity would be the reward of neutrality, but now that she has submitted her fate to the arbitrament of the sword, she cannot expect, any more than any other Power which drew the sword in the cause of Germany, wholly to escape the consequences of her action.

I fully realise that this must be a matter of grief and regret to the Muslims of India.

I would, however, ask them to take a practical view and a long view of the situation. Let them remember that when this unhappy war broke out it was the devout wish of every Briton to maintain the old ties of friendship which bound together the British Empire and the Turkish Empire. We could so well have trodden together the same path and have emerged victorious from the struggle side by side. Unhappily those in whose hands the destinies of Turkey rested at that supreme moment chose to join our enemies. That action and its consequences have created the difficult problems which now confront us. But, as you rightly indicate in your address, there is a community of interests and a long tradition of friendship between the British and Turkish Empires. I look forward therefore to a time when our old relations with the Turkish Empire will be re-established and quickened on a basis of mutual advantage and mutual good-will. Do not let your minds be too much over-clouded by the passing shadows of to-day when the whole world is in a state of flux and everyone of us, of whatever class, nation or creed, feels buffeted and torn by the events it has been our lot to pass through. Take a long view. What is good will and must survive.

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*Presentation of a Silver Shield and Silken Union Jack to the Soldiers of the Indian Army.*

Meanwhile from the deadly struggle in which the world has been engaged the British Empire has emerged stronger than ever. Within that Empire the religion and lives and property of Muslims have been secure. Within it and beyond it there will still be an assured future for Islam and peace and prosperity, as in the past, for all Muslims.

The future of India is now bright with promise. We are on the eve of a great experiment, which, if wisely guided, will give India a high place among the countries of the world. For its success and for the ordered progress of this great country, enabling it to withstand the dangerous menace of social and political disorder now over-shadowing the East, the fullest co-operation of Muslim India is essential.

Offering you my sympathy and my help in the trouble that has brought you here to-day, I claim your aid and co-operation in the great task which now calls for our united energies.

**PRESENTATION OF A SILVER SHIELD AND SILKEN UNION  
JACK TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY.**

Shortly before the Imperial Legislative Council met on the morning 30th January of the 30th January, an impressive ceremonial parade of Indian troops 1920. took place in front of the Council Chamber, when His Excellency the Viceroy formally received at the hands of Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh a silver shield and silken Union Jack presented by the women and children of the British Isles to the soldiers of the Indian Army for safe custody in the Council Chamber. The shield bears upon its face the inscription "To the Soldiers of India who have fought side by side with British troops in the cause of Empire during the Great War" and bears a wreath with the words "Tsingtan Camerouns Gallipoli" in centre. At the bottom of the shield is written "From the Women and



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*Presentation of a Silver Shield and Silken Union Jack to the Soldiers of the Indian Army.*

Children of the British Isles in admiration of their valour and devotion" and the words "Presented under the auspices of the League of Empire." His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in requesting the Viceroy to accept the emblems, recalled a similar function at the India Office in 1916 when Her Majesty Queen Alexandra was graciously pleased to make the presentation and pointed out that the operations recorded on the shield by no means represented full achievements of the Indian Army during the great war. This was because the shield was presented in 1916 and much had happened since then. The record would be completed by the addition of names of other theatres of war in which Indian troops fought. His Excellency the Viceroy, in accepting the emblem, said :—

India will remember with affection the gracious lady, Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, through whom these emblems have come to us, and we are proud to receive them from the hands of that veteran warrior Sir Pertab Singh, the King's Rajput Champion-at-arms, whose life has been a chapter of Indian chivalry.

The emblems will be taken into our Council Chamber in trust for the Indian Army. There they will remain a token and a tribute. A token that amidst their own trials and anxieties in the great war the women of England did not forget the sorrows of their Indian sisters, and a tribute from English hearts to the gallantry and devotion of our Indian soldiers. There is many a home in India which has its unconscious part in this ceremony to-day. From here we send them our message of fellowship and gratitude, of abiding sympathy to those who mourn. The message may perhaps not be heard, but from our friendly thoughts the spirit of good-will which springs from comradeship in sacrifice and victory will take greater strength and find its own expression. Standing here to-day we trust that spirit of good-will will shine brightly

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through all passing doubts and misunderstandings. Believe me, the tale of what India's soldiers did in the great war will never be forgotten in any part of the British Empire, and I receive these emblems in the firm faith that India's loyalty to our beloved King-Emperor, strengthened by the example we to-day commemorate, will be the solid rock upon which alone India's future can be surely built.

OPENING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, DELHI  
SESSION, 1920.

The first meeting of the Delhi Session of the Imperial Legislative 30th January Council was held on the morning of the 30th January, His Excellency 1920. the Viceroy presiding.

In opening the Session, His Excellency said:—

Hon'ble Members will notice that the Flag and Shield, which I formally received a few minutes ago, have now been affixed to the walls of the Chamber.

I am confident that they will always be treasured as honoured heirlooms embodying the history of heroic deeds.

Let me now welcome Hon'ble Members to another Session. We have before us an immense amount of important work to do, but I am hopeful that it will be of an uncontroversial kind, though I recognise that there must necessarily be differences of opinion among Members in an assembly of this size and character.

The outstanding fact which we have to record is the passing by Parliament of the Reforms legislation, and I am sure that Hon'ble Members would wish me to express our great

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indebtedness to the Secretary of State in this matter. We, who have been associated with Mr. Montagu in this policy, know how much we owe to his great ability, to his fertile resourcefulness and to the enthusiasm which he has displayed in this cause. Tribute has been paid to him in England for the tactical skill and the persuasiveness with which he has handled the Bill in Parliament. We can only know this through hearsay and not of our own knowledge. But from the fact that he has piloted his Bill through Parliament, we may not unfairly infer that that tribute was well founded. I think I shall be only echoing what is in the minds of Hon'ble Members when I congratulate him and tender him our thanks for the conspicuous service which he has rendered.

But I do not wish to stop here. It would have been impossible for Mr. Montagu to have accomplished what he has if it had not been for the loyal and devoted manner in which the spade-work of Reforms has been performed. I doubt whether many Hon'ble Members realise to the full what work is involved in the passage of a great Bill through Parliament, especially when the Bill has, as in this case, to run the gauntlet of examination and criticism in a Select Committee. I know what this work has been, and I am sure Hon'ble Members would wish me to express our gratitude to those who have worked so zealously, so loyally and so devotedly in this field. It is needless for me to say that there have been many others besides those whose names I propose to mention. In a work of this immensity the circles of labour radiate out far and wide. But there are three whose conspicuous labours I should like to mention. My colleagues in the Government will, I am sure, understand why my reference must necessarily be to those who are not members of the Government. The first

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name is that of Lord Meston, and I am sure you will wish me to congratulate him on the well-merited distinction which His Majesty has been pleased to confer upon him. Lord Meston has been in the thick of the Reforms from the very beginning and no one has done more, by masterly philosophical analysis of the problems, to elucidate and straighten out the difficult questions with which we were faced. As Lieutenant-Governor, as Member of Council carrying on his shoulders the double burden of Finance and Reforms, and now as the *vir pietate gravis* commissioned to carry out the thorny task of settling the Financial Relations between the Central and Provincial Governments, he has earned and will earn our gratitude. I trust that he is not putting too great a strain on himself, and that when he has accomplished his present task, he will have many years during which he may help India, the land he has loved, from his seat in the House of Lords.

My relations with Sir William Marris have been so intimate that I feel some difficulty in placing before you the character and extent of his service. Prior to Mr. Montagu's arrival, I appointed him on special duty in connection with Reforms and ever since, whether on duty here or in England, he has brought to the cause his great intellectual powers, his unrivalled industry and his mastery of the pen. He is now working specially under me to perfect the machinery which is required to set the new constitution in motion. He will greatly dislike my mention of him, but his displeasure is a risk which I have no hesitation in taking.

Constitutions may be projected in men's minds, may float in unsubstantial form as dreams, but at some time or

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other they must take shape in hard, clear-cut legal form. To Mr. Muddiman we are indebted in large measure for the work which has been done in this respect. As one who in his time practised Parliamentary drafting, I know the difficulties and the thanklessness of the task. The draftsman is not his own master. He is not left to himself to turn out his work *teres atque rotundus*, completely finished and rounded off. He has to fit in amendments, perhaps thrown at him at the last moment, at variance and inconsistent with the main principles of his structure, and subsequently the critic will point the finger of scorn at lacunæ and inconsistencies. But I am confident that Mr. Muddiman has met these crosses with smiling imperturbability. I am sure Hon'ble Members will be in accord with me when I thank him for his work.

Over the bodies of these three gentlemen there has been for the past two years a friendly tussle with the Secretary of State. We have each of us appraised their worth and have clung to their possession. It reminds me of some struggle depicted in Homer over the body of a dead hero. Now he, now I have had the mastery.

But I cannot stop here. There is a vast multitude of public servants throughout India, whose services have been requisitioned in order that this thing might be accomplished. To them, the vast majority of them unknown to me, I would tender my thanks. The enquiries which have taken place have necessitated demands for information which meant hard, painstaking and accurate work. This has been given loyally and ungrudgingly. What happier augury could there be for the working of our great experiment! Indian ministers will find a running machine composed of human

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parts of finest temper and quality ready to their hand. The work which has been done is an earnest of what will yet be done. I am confident that nothing will be lacking in the loyalty and efficient working of the machine of Government.

And now what of the work which lies ahead of us ?

We have still the best part of a year's strenuous labour before the new Councils can come into being. To deal with the press of work involved, a new office has been created in the Government of India under a Reforms Commissioner working in direct relation with myself, assisted by a Secretary, Under Secretary and the necessary establishment; and all Local Governments have similarly placed officers on special duty to deal with local problems. We have discussed in conference with Heads of Provinces all preliminary points which presented any obstacles to immediate progress. It is our aim to take public opinion freely into our confidence, and I will take this opportunity of stating our intentions upon points of wider interest. We contemplate a lowering of the franchise in Madras and the Punjab which will result (so far as our rough estimates indicate) in an increase of something over six hundred thousand voters in the two provinces taken together. We shall provide for some increase in the rural seats which the Joint Committee wish us to attain, without a reduction of the urban seats. We shall similarly provide for some better representation of the depressed classes. The special case of the urban wage-earner is also being provided for in Calcutta and Bombay where the class is numerous and important. I hope that under the sympathetic and capable guidance of Lord Willingdon and Sir George Lloyd, the difficulties about non-Brahmans in Madras and Mahrattas in Bombay are in a fair way to settlement.

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The process of making the electoral rolls has begun or is beginning, and with it will proceed also the shaping of the election rules. Another matter of immediate urgency is the drafting of the rules of legislative and other business for the several Provincial Councils and for the Indian legislature. On all these points it is the aim of my Government and Local Governments freely to consult Indian opinion and so far as may be, to carry it with us, and we, as our proposals mature, shall take every opportunity of laying them before non-official advisers and considering their suggestions. Our proposals for the distribution of seats in the Indian legislature have now been for some weeks made known, and no criticism of substance has yet reached the Government of India from any quarter.

The scheme of reforms also entails some important legislation. Council will have noticed the recommendation of the Joint Committee that it should enact legislation of a stringent character dealing with corrupt practices at elections. In due course a Bill will be laid before the Council. Not only is the subject new to Indian legislation, but it bristles with inherent difficulties, in dealing with which the Government will be greatly assisted by Hon'ble Members' knowledge of what is expedient and possible in the conditions of India.

At a later stage we propose to introduce also measures providing for the devolution upon Local Governments of many powers now vested in the Government of India, and for the rights and duties of the public services. But these are not yet sufficiently advanced for any definite statement about them to be made.

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*Opening of the Imperial Legislative Council, Delhi Session, 1920.*

I may say that we intend at the earliest possible moment to publish for information and convenience of reference the Government of India Act, 1915, as amended by the recent Act passed by Parliament, but Hon'ble Members will of course understand that the old law continues in force until the new one is brought into force by notification. Regarding the lifetime of existing Councils, we have asked the Secretary of State to sanction an amendment of the regulations which will enable us to continue in existence such of the present Councils as would otherwise expire, until the date on which the new Councils come into existence. I think you will gather from what I have said that nothing is being left undone to carry into operation the great Reform which has just passed through Parliament. We shall want your whole-hearted co-operation in our labours. To me the one thing that matters is to get the work done and to get it well done. Anything else is of supreme unimportance.

The heavy demand which necessary legislation will make upon the time of Council makes it necessary to limit the time to be set apart for the discussion of other matters of public interest. I propose to allot six days for the discussion of resolutions during February, and Hon'ble Members will be informed shortly of the exact dates; but the pressure of legislation and the budget will make it impossible for us to find time for the discussion of resolutions during the month of March.

Before I turn to other matters of current interest I might briefly allude to a small matter which has been brought to my attention by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, whom we are all glad to see again in India and who is conversant with the facts.



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He tells me that the appointment of Sir Sankaran Nair to the Council of the Secretary of State has been construed as a direct snub to me and my Government. If this concerned me alone I should not touch the question, but this interpretation of the appointment conveys an imputation on the Secretary of State, with whom I have the honour to work, which I cannot pass by. The facts of the case simply stated will dispose of this imputation.

I put forward the name of Sir Sankaran Nair myself for the Council of the Secretary of State, and his appointment to the specific vacancy, which he was chosen to fill, was made after consultation with me and with my cordial concurrence.

I turn now to other questions which are of interest to Hon'ble Members.

When I last addressed this Council in September, the grip of famine was upon the land. Fortunately that grip has now been relaxed, and, though the high prices still cause considerable hardship, the necessity for measures of famine relief has almost entirely passed away. The pendulum of the weather has swung back in a more favourable direction, and after experiencing in 1918 a failure of the monsoon which was almost unprecedented in geographical extent, we were favoured in 1919 with exceptionally good rains, which were unusually well distributed. Good *kharif* crops have been garnered in most provinces and the prospects of the *rabi* crops are generally good. Though the effects of last year's drought are still reflected in depleted stocks of food-grains and inflated prices, the situation is immensely improved. Those of you who have perused the interesting

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report by Mr. Innes, published in November last, on the Operations of the Indian Food-stuffs Commissioner, will realise how serious was the economic crisis through which we passed last year: and how much cause we have for thankfulness that we have come through it, not indeed unscathed, but without shipwreck. We still have to guard against a drain on our food supplies, and though it is the policy of my Government to withdraw restrictions on the export of food-grains as soon as we can do so with safety, we think it necessary to maintain those restrictions until the stocks in the hands of the people have been replenished and easier prices indicate that the normal course of trade can be resumed.

Hon'ble Members may or may not have read my speech at the Calcutta University Convocation. In that I outlined the course which the Government of India propose to take on the monumental document known as the Sadler Report. Our resolution on the subject is on the point of issuing, and towards the end of April I hope that a draft Bill may be published for general information. Last week I had the advantage of meeting the Heads of Provinces and I was glad to learn that in all the provinces the proposals of the Sadler Commission are being considered from the point of view of their applicability to the University position in the several provinces.

You have doubtless seen the communiqué about the reorganisation of the Indian and Provincial Educational Services. You will observe that the Secretary of State has accepted our recommendation that the Indian element in the Indian Educational Service should be largely increased up to 50 per cent. of the cadre,

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At the opening of the last Session of the Council, I described to you the steps taken to obtain the views of the Local Governments on the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and thereafter to obtain the decision of the Secretary of State regarding those cardinal points of principle that had to be established before we take the first practical step forward in organisation. From the papers published in November last, Hon'ble Members will have seen that the Secretary of State accepted the two fundamental principles underlying the recommendations of the Commission ; namely, that in future Government should play an active part in the industrial development of the country and should, consequently, be provided with adequate administrative equipment and be forearmed with reliable scientific and technical advice.

But in order that there should be no undue delay in pushing ahead with practical schemes, we did not rest with the discussion of fundamental principles ; we proposed three specific measures for the purpose of dealing with the questions that were obviously most urgent. These, we considered, were—

*Firstly*, the creation of an interim central authority for the purpose of designing the new official machinery and establishing a system of co-operation with the Provincial Governments ;

*Secondly*, the formulation of conditions for the establishment of the necessary scientific services ; and

*Thirdly*, the institution of a system for the local purchase of Government stores.

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All three proposals having been sanctioned by the Secretary of State, a Committee was appointed at once to advise on the best lines of organising the chemical services, which are the most urgently required of those necessary to deal with our neglected raw materials. We have been fortunate in obtaining as the Chairman of this Committee Professor Jocelyn Thorpe, the distinguished Professor of Organic Chemistry at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, and it is hoped that the proposals of this Committee will be ready by the end of April.

The local purchase of Government and railway stores is probably the most important among the practical proposals made by the Industrial Commission. The principle that Government stores should be purchased, whenever possible, in India has long been accepted; but, in the absence of an institution for the amalgamation of indents and for technical inspection during manufacture, we have been caught in a vicious circle. Manufacturing industries obviously could not be started without a sufficient and continuous market, while orders could not be placed in India so long as there existed here no adequate means of manufacture. Demands have thus continued to be made on England for many articles and materials which might very well be manufactured in this country if we had had the machinery for bringing Government buyers into effective touch with local manufacturers. On receipt of the Secretary of State's sanction, a Committee was appointed in December last under the Chairmanship of Sir Francis Couchman of the Railway Board to design the organisation of a new department for scrutinising Government indents, with a view to their being executed in an

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increasing degree in India; to consider the ways in which the duty of purchasing stores can be shared by the Central and Local Governments; and to examine the possibility also of assisting in this way Railway Companies and other public bodies. The Report of this Committee will be ready, I hope, before June next.

Meanwhile, formalities are being completed for the purpose of reconstituting the Munitions Board which, while carrying on the work of securing local stores (undertaken as a necessity during the war) will work out, for the sanction of the Secretary of State, those of the Industrial Commission's specific proposals which still remain. The Board will thus lay the foundations and will design the structure of the new department of industries, which the Secretary of State agrees with us in regarding as important enough to require a special Membership of Council.

Since the Secretary of State dealt with our proposals in September last, the Joint Committee has reported and the new Government of India Bill has become law. In compliance with the recommendations of the Joint Committee, the administration of industrial activities in the provinces will become one of the functions of the elected Ministers. The proposal of the Industrial Commission (that the functions of the Central Department of Industries should be mainly advisory) thus becomes a definite statutory prescription, while the responsibility for local executive action will rest with the representatives of the people.

I need not say that the object of the Ministers in developing the material resources of India, with the help of her own

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young men, will have our cordial support. The new Central Department will place its resources freely at the disposal of the Provincial Ministers, will assist them when required with technical advice in dealing with specific industrial schemes, in the development of industrial education, in the exploitation of extra-provincial markets, in the collection and distribution of industrial intelligence, and in the recruitment of staff. But it will be the duty of the Ministers to initiate and administer local operations for the purpose of developing provincial resources.

Since we met last September, our anxieties regarding the future of our Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa have increased rather than diminished. As you have read in the papers, a recent decision of the Transvaal Provincial Court endangers rights which we hoped had been secured beyond dispute by the Act of last summer. I would, however, renew most earnestly my plea for calmness. In a few weeks, probably, South Africa will be in the throes of a general election. It will only injure those whom we desire to help, if agitation here forces the Indian question to the front as an election issue.

Already, I think, by steady and moderate representations we have done much to ensure a friendly hearing for our case. We have now been informed that the long-awaited Commission will probably assemble about the end of February. The *personnel* of the Commission and the terms of reference have not yet been announced. But we understand that the Chairman will be a high judicial officer, and that the enquiry will be limited to the right to trade and to own fixed property in the four provinces of the Union. Sir B. Robertson sailed

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yesterday for South Africa to represent our case before the Commission, and we earnestly hope that his skill and experience will avail to effect an honourable settlement.

Meanwhile, fresh difficulties are arising in the British East Africa Protectorate. As yet we know no more than what has appeared in the press regarding the report of the East Africa Economic Commission, but I need not assure you that my Government will do everything in its power to defend Indian interests against this new attack. I may remind you, however, that this Report, as Colonel Amery has already declared in the House of Commons, must not be regarded as representing the views of the Government of East Africa, still less of the Imperial Government, with whom the final decision will lie. British East Africa is not a self-governing Dominion; and the position of the Government of India is, and always will be, that there is no justification in a Crown Colony or Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. With the support of the Secretary of State we have steadily pressed this view on the Colonial Office; and we have asked the Secretary of State to see to it that Indian interests are fully represented at the forthcoming discussions in London between Lord Milner and the Governor of East Africa.

While in some parts of the Empire we have these difficulties, other parts are eager to attract Indian settlers. There are now two deputations in India, one from British Guiana and one from Fiji, who have come here to persuade us to re-open emigration to those Colonies on a new basis. The British Guiana deputation have put forward a scheme of free

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emigration, with State assistance, which deserves, I think, our careful consideration. The Fiji Government have also given proof of their desire to enter on new and happier relations with this country by cancelling unconditionally all the outstanding indentures, and by declaring their intention of introducing at an early date measures to provide for the representation of the Indian community in the Legislative Council of Fiji on an elective basis.

I wish, however, to make it clear that the position, which was taken up by Lord Hardinge's Government, still holds good. It is not the duty of India to provide labour for British Colonies. But if the Colonies offer Indians a wider and more prosperous career than that which they can look for in their own homes, then we should not stand in the way. Our duty then will be to protect the ignorant Indian emigrant against misrepresentation, and to see that such guarantees are given as will safeguard his interests as a free settler in the country to which he goes. We propose that a Committee of this Council should meet the deputations, discuss with them the conditions on which it would be possible to re-open emigration and report their conclusions to the Government. Sir George Barnes will move a Resolution to this effect. I would suggest that the Committee should be in a large measure, if not entirely, composed of unofficial Indian Members, for the question is one which concerns Indians alone and we intend to be guided by the findings of the Committee. I think Hon'ble Members would wish me to express our appreciation of the success which Sir George Barnes has achieved by his untiring efforts in this matter of Indentured Labour.

I was very glad to have an opportunity of referring to the subject of Imperial Preference when I was recently invited to



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address the inaugural meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon. I said then, and I repeat it now, that I want to see the subject freely discussed and carefully examined. I said then, and I repeat it now, that it is not the Government of India's intention to adopt a policy of preference throughout the Empire as a general policy without full discussion and support from enlightened public opinion. It was with this object that, as Sir George Barnes told the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in November last, the Government of India intend to move for the appointment of a Committee of the Council to discuss the question, and to examine the statistical records relating to the various commodities of our export and import trade. I need hardly say that a preliminary examination, at any rate of the statistical position, has already been made in the Department of Commerce and Industry. It is my intention that this preliminary examination should be placed before the Committee in order that they may study the figures for themselves, and I hope it may be possible for them to come to some general conclusion on the question whether the adoption of a system of preferential tariffs is or is not likely to be to the advantage of the country as a whole. The question is one of course of great complexity and difficulty. Part of the difficulty perhaps arises from the fact that most of us have some kind of preconceived ideas on the subject of tariffs, perhaps not always based on a critical examination of the facts. I think that it will be of advantage if the members of the Committee could approach their task by divesting themselves as far as possible of all their previous notions and trying to look at the question as if it were an entirely new one, to be examined in the cold light of common sense and statistical figures.

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Now I will turn to the position of affairs on and beyond our Frontiers.

The situation in the Middle East has been recently painted in startling and lurid colours by the European Press. It has been said that the Bolsheviks, flushed by their successes, are about to join hands with the discontented elements for an overwhelming attack on the Allied Powers and especially on the British Empire; that the East is in ferment and that a time of acute peril lies before us especially in India. Now I do not wish to minimise the dangers threatening us, and indeed threatening the civilised world, as a result of the upheaval of the last five years. Men's minds are troubled and excited, as perhaps never before, by the spectacle of the foundering of Empires, the decay of conventions and the loosening of religious restraint; while starvation and distress have goaded whole peoples to desperation. At the same time also the Allied States, who alone have the power or organisation needed for the repair of the world, are tired of war, and eager to disband their armies and concentrate their energies on the problems of their own reconstruction. But I am confident that things are not so bad as they have been represented to be. Germany and Austria have now finally ratified the peace terms presented to them, and the horrible prospect of a renewal of war in the West has disappeared. Trade is being opened with our former enemies; so that we may expect that prosperity will gradually return to them, and that, with prosperity, internal commotion will subside. The real disturbing factor in the world is the ebb and flow of the uncontrolled forces let loose by the collapse of the Russian Empire. The forces fighting against the Bolsheviks have, it is true, been badly defeated, but the

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Bolshevists themselves are extremely disorganised. Disillusioned and sated by more than two years of hideous excesses, massacre and rapine, there seems now some prospect that the Bolshevik rulers may adopt a more moderate policy ; and if this proves to be the case, they may become a less active menace to the outside world. But they still preach the necessity of the disruption of the whole fabric of society, the destruction of property and the domination of mankind by its lowest and most ignorant elements ; and, where they cannot penetrate by arms, they seek to penetrate by propaganda and secret agitation. It is to the dangers of such penetration rather than to those of actual invasion that the Middle East is, according to my information, chiefly exposed. We are watching this development most carefully and we have set up a special staff to deal with it.

Turning now from the region of surmise and conjecture, important though it is, to the actual position on our Frontier, the Amir of Afghanistan has, since the signature of the Treaty of Peace at Rawalpindi, expressed uniformly friendly sentiments in his communications with us ; but, as is known to you, he has allowed a Bolshevik Mission to visit his capital and has sent an Afghan deputation to Moscow. An attitude such as this makes it difficult for us to enter into closer relations straightway. Our position *vis-à-vis* Afghanistan remains as it was last September. We wish to live on terms of friendship with her, but it is idle to enter into a treaty of friendship, until she has given us by her conduct proof that the treaty of friendship will not be a mere piece of paper, but a document based on the proved fact of friendliness.

Our border tribes have not yet recovered from the unrest caused by the Afghan war. To the north of the Khyber we

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have had peace ; but the younger and more excitable men of the Afridis have, in spite of the strength of our grip on the Khyber and of the efforts of their elders to restrain them, indulged in constant raids. We have announced to them comparatively lenient terms of submission ; and I hope that they will before long realise the futility of their conduct, and that the former confidence between these tribesmen and our frontier officers will be restored. The tribes of Waziristan, the Mahsuds in the centre and the Wazirs of the Tochi in the North and of Wano in the South, had committed themselves deeply against us during the Afghan war ; and after the conclusion of peace, they continued their intolerable depredations on the peaceful population of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. At the beginning of November a strong field force was assembled and the terms of their submission were announced to the Mahsuds and Tochi Wazirs. The Mahsuds rejected our terms, but the Tochi Wazirs accepted them, being deterred by our display of force in the Tochi and by the advance of our troops in imposing strength to Datta Khel. In the meanwhile the Mahsuds, after being given time to remove their women and children, were severely bombed from the air ; but though they were much shaken by the bombing and though many individuals were anxious to submit, the tribe as a whole remained recalcitrant, and an advance of our troops in force became necessary. On the 18th December the Derajat column advanced from Jandola and was strongly opposed by the Mahsuds and Wano Wazirs, who now possess plenty of modern rifles and ammunition, and large numbers of whom have been trained in our Militias in the most recent methods of warfare. In this fighting, while I regret to say that our casualties were numerous, heavy losses are known to have been suffered by the enemy, and on

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the 29th December the Mahsud jirgah came in and accepted our terms in full. But the disintegration of the tribe is so great that the hundreds of petty headmen have little authority and about a third of the tribe have continued to oppose our advance. This will now be maintained until the tribesmen have shown the reality of their submission by the payment of their fines and of the rifles which have been demanded of them. The Wano Wazirs will then remain to be dealt with; but they are not expected to prove so stubborn as the Mahsuds, and we hope that before long these troublesome but inevitable operations will be brought to a successful issue. Our forces have had a hard time of it in difficult country under the severe conditions which winter imposes in that region, and I would express my warm appreciation of the grit and gallantry they have displayed in their advance against determined opposition into the heart of the enemy's country. I should like to say in passing that General Climo has been kept fully supplied with reinforcements throughout his campaign; that the air force consists of the most up-to-date machines, of which a full reserve is kept with the force; and that the latest pattern of heavy mountain howitzer has been employed throughout the campaign. We shall now proceed, by a greater concentration of our forces at strategic points and by a vigorous extension of roads fitted for mechanical transport, to secure our more effective future domination of this portion of the frontier and protection of our border tracts.

Further south, the Sheranni tribe including both the sections under the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan have submitted, and the tribes of the Zhob Valley have given no trouble.

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To sum up then :

The position on our Frontier, complicated and difficult though it is, is being gradually straightened out.

I do not minimise the dangers arising out of the turmoil of the disintegrated Russian Empire, but I rest my confidence on the peoples of India. They will never, I believe, open their hearts to the abhorrent doctrines of murder, anarchy and atheism.

The present is indeed a critical time in the world's history when every nation which hopes to maintain or advance its position in the community of civilised States must stand firm by its traditions and set up bulwarks of sanity and moderation against the forces of disorder and destruction. In India I see no grounds for pessimism. There may be clouds in our sky, but the shadows they cast are relieved by much that is bright. In his deep concern for India's welfare in these days of stress and change His Majesty the King-Emperor has issued to the Indian people a gracious Proclamation. The Royal Message, full of inspiration and hope, has been acclaimed throughout India, and you will have an opportunity of acknowledging it when Mr. Sinha's resolution comes before you. The Proclamation ends :

“ It is my intention to send my dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India next winter to inaugurate on my behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new Constitutions in British India.

“ May he find material good-will and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the future service of the

*State Banquet at Alwar.*

country, so that success may crown their labours and progressive enlightenment attend their administration. And with all my people I pray to Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may grow to the fulness of political freedom."

To this we will answer *Amen*.

It remains for me only to express what I know is the great satisfaction of all Hon'ble Members that the task of opening the new Indian legislature of the future will be performed by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The extraordinary success which has attended the Prince's visit to other parts of the Empire will, I know, be equalled by the reception which this great country will give him.

By his gracious presence in our midst he will forge anew the links of Empire. Let us prepare to welcome the Prince in Shakespeare's words—

"Now is the winter of our discontent  
Made glorious summer by this sun of York."

## STATE BANQUET AT ALWAR.

29th Feb- His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Her Excellency the  
ruary 1920. Lady Chelmsford and Staff, paid a brief official visit to Alwar at the end of February 1920. His Highness the Maharaja gave a Banquet in honour of the Viceroy on the night of the 29th February. In replying to the Maharaja's speech proposing the health of the Viceroy, His Excellency said :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen*,—I am very glad indeed that I have at last been able to accept Your Highness'

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*State Banquet at Alwar.*

kind invitation to visit Alwar and obtain a glimpse of your fine city and beautiful jungles. It was a keen disappointment when my visit had to be postponed last April, and I much regret that I cannot on this occasion remain so long as was then intended. Your Highness, both as an earnest student of contemporary politics and as a practical administrator, will sympathise, I know, with the reasons which make my stay in Alwar so brief and fleeting. You have had experience of the spade-work required before administrative changes can be brought into being, and will realise the pre-occupations of the Viceroy in preparing for the new constitutions to be inaugurated by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales next cold weather.

It is appropriate that in your own Capital I should congratulate Your Highness once again on the honour conferred last year by His Majesty the King-Emperor in recognition of the distinguished services of Your Highness and the Alwar-State in the war. Since the inception of the Imperial Service Troops movement the Alwar State has expended a very large proportion of its revenue on the upkeep of its two Imperial Service Regiments. The average annual cost of the Cavalry and Infantry before the war was, I believe, nearly five lakhs, or a seventh of the gross revenue of the State. It must, I am sure, have been a proud moment for Your Highness when at the outbreak of war you were able to place two fine Regiments at the disposal of the Imperial Government. The Infantry Regiment was mobilised and left Alwar on the 12th October 1914 and its valuable work in Egypt and Palestine earned the cordial appreciation of the Commander-in-Chief, Egyptian Expeditionary Force. The Cavalry Regiment was also mobilised and has done excellent service on the Indian Frontier



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during the war. Your Highness also took the lead in meeting the wishes of the military authorities by offering your Imperial Service Regiments for temporary incorporation in the Indian Army when this measure was considered desirable last summer. The happy termination of the war made the transfer of the Alwar units to the Indian Army of short duration only, but this in no way diminishes the value of Your Highness' action.

It is not only in respect of the services of the Imperial Service Troops that Your Highness has deserved well of India and the Empire. The Alwar State has always supplied a number of recruits for the Indian Army, but during the critical period in 1917-18 it responded magnificently to the call for men and up till November 1918, when recruiting ceased, had supplied no less than 12,261 recruits to the Indian Forces, or a percentage of one man out of nine from the population of fighting age. The Alwar State headed the recruiting figures for Rajputana during many months, and I take this opportunity of expressing my very warm thanks to Your Highness for your loyal and patriotic effort and my admiration of the military spirit which animates your subjects.

When hostilities with Afghanistan broke out in May last Your Highness again placed your resources at our disposal and your Imperial Service Regiment proceeded to the Frontier to aid our forces in repelling the threat to India. I am confident that in any such time of difficulty Your Highness will always be among the first to assist the Government of India in preserving the security, peace and prosperity of your motherland.

*State Banquet at Alwar.*

It is a pleasure to be able to congratulate Your Highness upon a favourable monsoon, full tanks and flourishing crops. Prices are still high, for they are affected by world factors beyond the confines of India itself. But I am glad to learn that your people came successfully through the scarcity of last year. Efficient administration is a great thing, but happiness and contentment among your people are even greater and are, I am sure, near to Your Highness' heart. I am interested to have seen the progress made by Your Highness in constructing tanks and extending irrigation works to increase the prosperity of your zemindars and render them less subject to the losses of famine years. The beautiful expanse of water at Jaisamand is eloquent testimony to the rapidity and energy with which Your Highness set about repairing the disasters of 1917. So long as efficiency and the contentment of its people are the key-notes of the Alwar administration there need be no forebodings regarding the future of the State and its Ruler.

Your Highness, I am grateful for the words that you have spoken regarding my personal share in the Reforms which are to be inaugurated in the coming year, and I earnestly share your hope that they will tend to the greater happiness and contentment of the Princes and peoples of India. With regard particularly to the Chamber of Princes, I rejoice to hear from Your Highness' lips your appreciation of the friendly spirit which has animated our annual gatherings and the meetings of your Committees with the officers of my Government. And I may say in return that I also highly appreciate on my side the reasonable attitude which Your Highness has assumed in dealing with the difficult and important problems with which we have been confronted. There are some men, but by

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*Deputation from Ceylon in connection with the export of rice from India.*

no means all, with whom it is a pleasure to argue. I would certainly include Your Highness among their number.

In conclusion, I must thank Your Highness for your kind reference to Her Excellency, to whom, I can assure you, it has been no less a pleasure to visit your Capital than it has been to me.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to drink the toast of His Highness Sawai Maharaja Sir Jai Singh Bahadur.

#### DEPUTATION FROM CEYLON IN CONNECTION WITH THE EXPORT OF RICE FROM INDIA.

4th March  
1920.

A deputation representing all communities and interests in Ceylon presented a memorial this afternoon to the Viceroy regarding the food situation there. In the course of their memorial they stated that a very serious and unprecedented situation had been created in the island as a result of the decision of the Government of India to sell rice to the Ceylon Government at a price beyond the means of the vast majority of the people of Ceylon. The sufferings of the island population were at present not realised by the outside world. They were not due to any local conditions but solely to the altered policy of the Government of India in regard to the export of rice required for consumption. Ceylon had depended from time immemorial upon India for its food supply and had imported annually from India in normal times rice to the value of Rs. 7,50,00,000. The average price, up to the end of 1919, of 100 baskets of rice (Rangoon) was under Rs. 500, but since the beginning of this year the Government of India

*Deputation from Ceylon in connection with the export of rice from India.* had decided to sell rice to Government at the average rate of Rs. 1,000 per 100 baskets *f. o. b.* Rangoon. Rice imported at this rate was now being sold in Ceylon at cost price, which was an increase of about 60 per cent. on prices ruling before the new order came into force. Ceylon had a valid claim for not being treated as a foreign country on a par with the British colonies as the Straits Settlements, Australia, East Africa, Fiji, etc., but as forming a part of India itself. The memorial asked for favourable treatment as regards the price now charged and as regards the quantity which was at present inadequate and also that a part of the allotment of rice might be drawn from Bengal and South India.

In replying to the deputation His Excellency said :—

I think it will clear the ground if I first explain the position of the Government of India in regard to the rice trade. In a speech which I made at the meeting of the associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on the 8th January 1920 I stated the reasons for which we assumed control of sales of the Burma rice crop in the current year. A relevant extract from this speech was forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, Colombo, with our Revenue and Agriculture Department letter No. 101-F.S., dated the 28th January 1920, and I need not repeat it here. The only point which I wish to emphasise is that, if the control over exports, which was maintained in 1919, had been removed in 1920, the price of rice both in Burma and India would have risen to the level prevailing in outside markets, and the producers would have reaped large profits, but the consumers would have suffered very serious hardship. In order to keep down internal prices the Government of India found

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*Deputation from Ceylon in connection with the export of rice from India.*

it necessary to restrict exports, but they desired as far as possible to mitigate the injury to the producer which such restrictions are bound to involve. If it had been possible to devise a method by which a full price for the rice exported could be secured to the producers without unduly raising the price for internal consumption, we should have been glad to adopt it. But we could not devise any direct means of effecting this object. If we merely controlled the quantities exported, the profits of the trade would have been diverted from the primary producers and concentrated in the hands of the exporters. The Government of India were thus reluctantly constrained to take a hand in the trade themselves in order to ensure an equitable distribution of the profits. But we feel ourselves to be in the position of trustees of the producers and we have agreed to make over a large share of the net profits to the Government of Burma to be expended for the benefit of the cultivator. The question whether the whole profits should be allocated in this way is under consideration. Any concession granted to Ceylon would therefore be mainly at the expense of Burma.

I turn now to the grounds on which you ask for special treatment. Your account of the sufferings of the population of Ceylon, owing to the high price of food, can arouse nothing but sympathy here, where we too suffer from the same trouble. But I must emphatically repudiate the suggestion that the Government of India are in any way responsible for the rise in the price of rice in the markets outside India. If we had thrown our surplus on the market without any restrictions it would not have sufficed to bring down the general price to the level (Rs. 15 a cwt.) at which we have

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*Deputation from Ceylon in connection with the export of rice from India.*

offered to supply Ceylon. When we fixed this price, we were informed that the price at Saigon, the only other centre from which large supplies are available for export this year, was about double the above figure, and we have received offers up to Rs. 20 a cwt. from other countries on our rationed list. If we offered our rice to the highest bidders we could obtain still higher prices. The few other colonies with Indian inhabitants to which we have offered rice at Rs. 15 a cwt. have gladly accepted it. So far then from having raised the market rate, our system of control has enabled us to provide supplies to Ceylon at a price considerably below that rate, and you will, I think, readily admit that you would have to pay very much higher prices for supplies from elsewhere. We have moreover given you preferential treatment in our rationing scheme as regards the quantities to be supplied. We cannot guarantee to meet your full requirements, but we have given you as large an allotment as possible in the first quarter of the year, far larger than you could have secured if you had had to compete for it in the open market.

I must also challenge your statement that you had no previous notice or warning that you might have to pay a higher price this year. Last year India required the greater part of the surplus of Burma rice, and Ceylon and other colonies were allowed to take the balance at controlled rates. The figure you quote regarding your transactions with Siam illustrates the advantage that Ceylon derived from this arrangement. I understand that you purchased 30,000 tons and that it cost you Rs. 37,00,000 to sell this quantity at the rates at which Indian rice was selling. You appear therefore to have obtained our rice at over Rs. 120 a ton or

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Rs. 6 a cwt. cheaper than the world price. Your Government had no reason to suppose that such a favourable arrangement could be continued. Your Food Controller stated in November last that he was aware that the question of removing the control of Burma rice was then under consideration, and, as I have already pointed out, the result of such removal would have been to raise Burma prices to world prices. Your Government should therefore have been prepared to meet a large rise in prices this year.

I come now to your contention that Ceylon should be treated as forming a part of India. I fully recognise the close historical and geographical connections between the two countries to which you refer; but these are not the main considerations. The main point is that they are under different political administrations, and are separate financial units. The inhabitants of Ceylon do not contribute to the cost of administration in India, and they cannot reasonably expect to be treated as a part of India and to obtain what would practically amount to a large subsidy from India.

You state that the planting industries of Ceylon are threatened with ruin unless the relief for which you ask is immediately granted by the Indian Government. This appears to me to bear out the view already expressed by the Government of India that the supply of rice at a concession rate would enable these industries to continue to obtain cheap labour for growing non-staple crops, and in so far as the concession would reduce the labour bill of the estates it would go to increase the dividends of the planting companies. I am still unable to see any reason why India should contribute towards these dividends.

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*Deputation from Ceylon in connection with the export of rice from India.*

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I am more moved by the appeal which you make on behalf of the general inhabitants, and especially of the Indian population, and my Government have given careful consideration to the question whether we can grant any further concession without injustice to the Burma producer. Having regard to the fact that Ceylon affords employment for the surplus population of Southern India and that many of these labourers would be forced to return to India if they cannot obtain food in Ceylon, we have come to the conclusion that it will be legitimate to supply a limited amount of rice at a specially low rate. Your Government has estimated your requirements for the year at 360,000 tons. We are now prepared to let you have half this quantity, *i.e.*, 180,000 tons, at a flat rate of Rs. 12 a cwt. For any quantity supplied in excess of the latter figure, the price already fixed, *i.e.*, a minimum of Rs. 15 a cwt., will be charged.

I hope that this concession will afford some measure of relief to the distress in Ceylon, and I regret that we cannot see our way to go any further than this. I can hardly hope that this will be regarded as fully meeting your wishes; but I do trust that your visit here and the discussions you have had will have made you realise that my Government, while they would gladly help Ceylon even further in her distress, find themselves compelled to endeavour to hold the balance even between your needs and the just claims of our producers. We thought that we had gone as far as we could in the price originally fixed. The urgency of your need has induced us to make this concession in your favour. I hope you will appreciate our position and agree that in what we are now offering to do we are going to the furthest possible limit.



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LAST MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL  
AT DELHI

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22nd March 1920.      The current session of the Imperial Legislative Council concluded on the 22nd March when the last meeting was held under the presidency of His Excellency the Viceroy. The Viceroy in declaring the Session closed said :—

It only remains now for me to bid farewell to the Council at the close of another session, and in bidding farewell to you, it may be of interest to know that this is the last occasion in Delhi on which a Viceroy will preside over a Legislative Assembly. It is true that there is still the Simla session at which I shall preside over this Council, but this time next year when the Reforms have been inaugurated by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Viceroy will no longer be ex-officio the President of the Legislative Assembly and his attendance at that body will be confined to certain formal occasions when he comes to deliver a speech to the Assembly. I think the Joint Committee, when they came to the conclusion that it was desirable that the Viceroy should not preside over this Assembly, probably came down on the side of the balance of advantages in favour of his not presiding. But for myself, though in the course of another year there will be another Viceroy in my place, I think it is to be regretted that the Viceroy will lose that opportunity of seeing Members in debate, of seeing the tone and temper of Members, of getting in some way into personal touch with Members, which his ex-officio Presidency enables him to do. And from that point of view I do regret for my successors that they will be deprived of that opportunity, which I have regarded as a privilege during my tenure of office as Viceroy.

But I will pass away from that because it is *res judicata*.

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*Last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi.*

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There are as many things to be said in favour of the change as against it, and I have only to express this morning what is a personal regret on my part that there will be a certain deprivation of that personal touch between the Viceroy as President of this Legislative Council and the Members, which has subsisted heretofore.

Now, you have had a strenuous session and some of you, I believe, would say that you had been worked harder than you had ever been worked in your lives before. It has not only been a long and continuous session in this Council—I do not think you have sat later than 8 o'clock though in certain circumstances you might have sat later—but it has also been a strenuous session in Committee, and I feel sure in looking back upon this session Hon'ble Members will say that it has been a session which has been marked by a spirit of good-will and co-operation. I know that I can say that from the Government point of view because all my Hon'ble colleagues have told me that in working with Hon'ble Members during this session they have found to their great delight that there was that spirit of good-will and co-operation, which I have just mentioned. Now I trust Hon'ble Members, when they leave this capital city, will carry away with them to their homes that same spirit of good-will and co-operation, because we have still much work to do. We ourselves, as a Government, have still a great deal of spade-work to do in connection with the Reforms. We shall have still to call upon many of our non-official friends for assistance in that respect. And so, if that work is to be done, as I hope it will be done, efficiently and well, we must rely on the spirit of good-will and

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*Last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi.*

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co-operation. But that spirit must exist not only amongst non-official Members; it must exist in the districts and throughout India. So I hope, when Hon'ble Members return to their homes, that they will go out in a spirit of apostleship, a spirit of good-will and co-operation, in order that they may prepare the way for the advent of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales when he comes to us at the end of this year. Let nothing be done or said during these few months that are to come which will in any way jeopardise the spirit of harmony which, I hope, will prevail at that time. You must remember that His Royal Highness will come not in any sense as a politician or statesman to complete the work which has been put through by statesmen, but as representing His Majesty the King-Emperor himself, and that His Majesty the King-Emperor stands above and aloof from all party differences or all party questions or party disputes. So, I hope, that when His Royal Highness comes to set the seal upon the policy which has been carried through, he will find such an atmosphere of harmony and good-will prevailing that no jarring note will in any way spoil his visit during his stay in India.

So I bid you farewell and I hope that you will now not only be able still to do some work for India with regard to Reforms and that, if you are called upon, you will explain what is meant by these Reforms in the parts of India where you may happen to dwell, but that you will have that rest from your labours which I am sure each non-official Member who has been present during this session feels is his due.

And now may I bid you a very cordial farewell.

## STATE BANQUET AT GWALIOR.

His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Her Excellency the 31st March Lady Chelmsford and staff, left Delhi on the 25th March and paid an official visit to Gwalior.

At a banquet given by the Maharaja of Gwalior on the 31st March in honour of His Excellency's visit, His Highness welcomed the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford in the following speech:—

*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen;*—Believe me when I say that nothing could give me more joy than to welcome the supreme head of the British Government in my State, more particularly when the Viceroy is accompanied by Her Ladyship. I only wish that such visits could be frequent rather than few and far between.

To be in close touch, even for a few days, with the representative of the King-Emperor is a particular honour which I appreciate more than anything as it implies a close tie of mutual trust and confidence.

It is unnecessary for me, on this occasion, to review the progress made by my State, the labours of my principal officers, the achievements, however humble, of my troops, the trials and the fortitude of my people. All that is matter of public knowledge. It appears in our Gazette and other publications and is, I know, a matter of interest to Your Excellency even in the midst of the grave pre-occupations of peace and war that have absorbed Your Excellency's attention during the eventful epoch-making years of your Viceroyalty. I hope then that even Your Excellency will not trouble to allude to what is after all only a part of the daily conduct of affairs and of our duty.

I have no claim to public admiration; but as long as Your Excellency knows what I am to the Throne and I have your confidence, I am quite happy and contented.

Sir, we all admire your courage and your patience which seems inexhaustible, as befits a soldier-statesman.

Your Excellency, I take this opportunity of thanking Her Excellency and yourself for the great hospitality I have received at the Viceregal Court and for many acts of kindness and for the honour you are doing my House to-night.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you any longer but will ask you to join me in drinking to the health of Their Excellencies and in wishing them every success in all their undertakings.

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*State Banquet at Gwalior.*

His Excellency in reply said :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—On Lady Chelmsford's behalf and on my own I thank you, Your Highness, very warmly for the splendid welcome you have extended to us and for the terms in which you have been pleased to propose our health ; while to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, our united thanks are due for the cordiality with which you have honoured the toast.

Looking back on the last four years and on the many visits the Maharaja Scindia has been so good as to pay us in Simla and Delhi, often at great inconvenience to himself, to assist and advise us in matters of moment, I welcome this, my first public opportunity of expressing, *urbi et orbi*, the very high esteem in which I hold His Highness as a Prince and as a man.

But His Highness has not made this as easy for me as he might. His speech contains no mention of his own activities and achievements, but happily it is not necessary for His Highness to tell me what he has done and how well he has deserved of us in India and of the Empire. That from his childhood he has followed faithfully and piously in the loyal footsteps of his father is becoming a matter of history. We all remember how nobly Maharaja Jayaji Rao Scindia behaved in 1857 ; our children will read how 57 years later his son rallied to the Empire in 1914, how he invited the families of the Inspecting Officers of the Imperial Service Troops to come and make Gwalior their home ; showed with his brother Princes a united front to the enemy by that splendid organisation, the Hospital-ship *Loyalty*

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sent his Transport Corps to France, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia and more recently to our North-West Frontier, his Infantry to Egypt and East Africa and Palestine, and his Cavalry to Bannu, Miranshah, Rawalpindi, Quetta and Mardan, how he trained remounts, supplied comforts to the army overseas, clubs and amusements for the munition workers, a fleet of motor cars, a number of aeroplanes for Mesopotamia when they were just coming into use, and a Convalescent Home near Nairobi. The more profound student of our times will learn of the financial assistance His Highness was able to give, how he was one of those who came to the country's assistance when the supply of coined silver ran short, how he husbanded the resources of his State and was able not only to keep it quiet and contented in spite of high prices, and to put down crime with such success as to earn the thanks of neighbouring Provinces, but also to secure recruits in increasing numbers for his Regiments at the front, money in large quantities for investment in the War Loans and a considerable development of economic activity, both in agriculture and in industry.

These are some of the things which His Highness has done for the Empire during the war and I feel that we owe a deep debt of gratitude, not only to His Highness himself, but also to those who watched over his training in his early years. We owe much to Sir Donald Robertson, the Resident from 1894 to 1896, to whose sympathy and concern for his welfare His Highness has often testified; to his devoted guardian, the late Surgeon-General Aylmer Crofts, and to Mr. J. W. D. Johnstone, his tutor, from 1890 to 1894 and his Director of Public Instruction till 1911. The late Maharaja died when His Highness was still a child. For much that is

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best in His Highness' character, including his overflowing humour, we are indebted I feel sure to that grand type of Indian womanhood, that exemplary mother, Her late Highness the Dowager Maharani Sakhya Raja Sahiba Scindia, C. I., whose loss His Highness and myself and a host of relations and friends had to deplore in September last.

As an administrator His Highness attained his silver jubilee in December last and I rejoice to recall that His Majesty the King-Emperor thought the occasion important enough to telegraph his greetings, congratulations and best wishes. During these 25 years, Your Highness, you have tackled single-handed many of India's administrative problems, justice, official purity, security, communications, education, co-operation, agriculture and irrigation—and to the solution of these problems you have brought the gifts of thoroughness and imagination. That great tank *Tigra*, on which I sailed in 1917, was breached, I know, soon afterwards but is being repaired; still larger tanks are being constructed on the Parbati and on the Sindh. This in addition to a generous settlement and the introduction of better cotton and better wheat should go far to secure the future prosperity of the Gwalior State. For that and their comparative immunity from the horrors of famine the peasantry will be under increasing and perpetual gratitude to His Highness.

As a soldier His Highness has volunteered for service on many occasions and he accompanied the Indian Expeditionary Force to China in 1900. For many years His Highness has devoted himself to perfecting as far as he could the army bequeathed to him by his ancestors, and it was with gratification that I saw swing past me this morning those

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fine battalions wearing the ribbons of the campaigns which they have shared with the British Army. The Imperial Service movement initiated by Lord Dufferin took shape in Gwalior in 1890, since when His Highness' troops have served on many fronts, with credit to the State and to its Ruler. Now after the recent war the time seems to have come when the basis of association between the Indian Army and the troops of Indian States will have to be broadened to ensure the greater efficiency and usefulness of both, and I am persuaded that an arrangement will be evolved which will be equally satisfactory to the Government and the Princes of India. In any such development His Highness' counsel will be valuable and I am sure that his full support will be forthcoming.

As a statesman His Highness' political creed is summed up in the words "For King and Country." supremely and intensely loyal to the Throne and the British connection, His Highness has ever held that he can do no better service to the King-Emperor of India than to administer the territories committed to his charge to the very best of his abilities. I delight to recall His Highness' active enthusiasm during the War Conference of 1918; days when we were faced with a very grave and critical situation which His Highness helped us to pass in safety. I recall also His Highness' cordial co-operation in dealing with the problems discussed in the Conferences of Ruling Princes and Chiefs and the wisdom and shrewdness of his comments. India is now developing on the path of self-government and His Highness acting on the spirit of the times has enlarged his Legislative Council created District Boards and appointed a Board of Economic Development including business-men from Calcutta and



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Bombay—all institutions that must tend to the gradual formation of an intelligent and informed public opinion. In a great self-contained Indian State like Gwalior, in close touch with British India, but administered to some extent on Indian principles, by Indians for Indians, the course which His Highness is pursuing is calculated to lead to the happiness and the moral and material progress of the people, and His Highness has good cause to congratulate himself and the Sardars and Officers through whom he has worked.

I need say no more about His Highness' work, as I feel that all present are fully aware of his great achievements and need no reminder of them. There are two matters about which, I believe, His Highness has been anxious. One is the necessity for direct communication with the Government of India and the other is the settlement of his difficulties with the Guaranteed Thakurs. I hope that both these matters are now well on the way to a satisfactory settlement in accordance with principles to which His Highness has agreed.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. I ask you to join with me in drinking long life and prosperity to our illustrious host, His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INDIAN COUNCIL OF THE ST. JOHN AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION AND THE RED CROSS.

24th June 1920, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford presided over the annual general meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association held at Viceregal Lodge on the 24th June.

The proceedings of 1919 were confirmed, after which the Commander-in-Chief presented the Annual Report.

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His Excellency the Viceroy in addressing the meeting said :—

When I addressed you on St. John's Day last year, I expressed a hope that India was then within sight of happier times which would enable us to turn our energies from the operations connected with war to the normal activities of peace. The great war was over; and we were justified in hoping that our trouble on the frontier would be of short duration. But this was not to be. The war with Afghanistan has been followed by a long-continued campaign in Waziristan, restricted no doubt in its area, but carried on in a country so inhospitable and under conditions so difficult that it has demanded the continued attention of that side of our organisation which ministers to the comfort of the sick and wounded in the field. The strain has of course fallen rather on the Joint War Committee than on the St. John's Ambulance Association. Before, however, I deal with the war work of the former, I will deal with the year's work of the latter, the senior institution.

I referred last year to the general reorganisation which, under the guidance of Sir Claude Hill, had been effected in the work of the Association—a reorganisation which gave enhanced powers and responsibilities to Provincial centres. The full effect of this has not yet been seen. That the Association has continued its valuable work of education and instruction, the facts and figures given in the speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief bear full witness; but we have still to see that general and widespread awakening of interest in its activities which we had hoped that the Provincial centres would succeed in stimulating. As it is, the number of first-aid certificates issued fell below that of the three years

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1916-1917 and 1918, and there was an even greater falling off in the issue of home-nursing certificates. The matter is one which I can but commend to the attention of the Provincial centres. I recognise that it was only natural that there should be some cessation of effort after the strenuous efforts which had been made, not only in this, but in innumerable other directions during the war ; but I hope, and I am sure I shall not hope in vain, that those who guide and control the Provincial centres will now be able to give renewed attention to the work of the Association. New district centres need founding ; the activity of existing centres in class and instructional work needs stimulating. I have to notice a further measure of reorganisation in St. John's work. Hitherto that important side of St. John's activity, the St. John's Ambulance Brigade, had been under the direct control of the Chief Commissioner for Brigade Overseas in England. In October last the Chapter General agreed to a scheme by virtue of which the Viceroy became the official head for Brigade, as well as Association matters, and the executive work of both the Brigade and the Ambulance Association fell definitely within the sphere of the Chairman of the Executive Committee. In previous years our annual proceedings took but little account of the work of the Brigade ; I welcome the change which now enables me formally to recognise the great work done by the 1,500 enrolled members of the Brigade during the war. Their activities were specially in evidence in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi, where they were, and continue to be, of great assistance in embarking and disembarking the sick, and in rendering assistance during outbreaks of cholera and other epidemics. I must not forget that we have also seen something here in

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Simla of the humane efforts of the nursing division of the Brigade during times of unusual sickness, and those of you who were present at the last Birthday Parade may have noticed that some of the St. John's workers were in attendance. I cannot close my reference to the work of the St. John's Association without reference to the loss it has sustained by the departure of Sir Claude Hill. He had for many years shown a devoted interest in the work of the Association; and it owes a deep debt to his energy and enthusiasm as Chairman of the Executive Committee during the last two years.

I turn now to the work of the Joint War Committee. As Mr. Hailey's speech has shown, it has continued to supply hospital comforts—though naturally on a greatly reduced scale—to the troops in Mesopotamia. Working partly from headquarters and partly through its numerous affiliated or Provincial societies, it has provided a large number of amenities for military hospitals throughout India; but its chief energies have necessarily been devoted to the supply of medical comforts to the troops in the Afghan and Waziristan campaigns. During the Afghan campaign it maintained Depôts at Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Quetta, Kohat and Bannu, where very large supplies of stores were distributed to hospitals at bases and to ambulances at the front; at the end of the campaign the Rawalpindi Depôt was closed down and the Peshawar Depôt was taken over by the North-West Frontier Province Red Cross organisation. The remaining Depôts were maintained for the purpose of supply to the troops in Waziristan and Baluchistan. The expenditure thus entailed has made severe inroads on the Committee's capital resources;

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but those who have read a communiqué issued by the Commander-in-Chief at the conclusion of the Afghan War will realise that the Army has not failed to appreciate the efforts it has made. These efforts are not limited to mere expenditure of money, and of large sums of money; they imply the maintenance of a large organisation for the purchase and distribution of supplies; and they have demanded the assiduous attention not only of the headquarters staff but also of a large number of honorary workers throughout India. I feel, however, that it is inevitable that, even if our operations on the frontier should unfortunately continue, activity of this nature must now be gradually curtailed. The greatly increased standard of Army supplies in the matter of hospital comforts, and the latitude given to medical officers to purchase such supplies direct when they are not readily obtainable through the regular channels, have tended to reduce the direct calls on the energies of the Committee, and to introduce a sensible modification in the direction of its activity. The Committee has, rightly I think, now for some time deliberately adopted the policy of conserving its resources in view of the fresh field of work which was opening before it. The Legislature, in an Act introduced by Sir Claude Hill in our Legislative Council in March last, authorised the foundation of an Indian Red Cross Society to take the place of the Joint War Committee and to administer the funds held by it; and in doing so, expressly provided that a certain portion of these funds might be used for civil purposes. The Joint War Committee was a temporary organisation only, created for war purposes; it determined its functions last month, and its permanent successor, the new Indian Red

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Cross Society, has actually come into being and will carry on, when necessary, the war work of the Joint War Committee ; but the principal sphere for the expansion of its activity will be on the civil side. Its affiliation to the International League of Red Cross Societies gives India a definite place in that great humanitarian association of societies which is now devoting its energy and its resources to the relief of suffering throughout the world. I look forward to seeing the early creation of Red Cross Societies in every province, which will take up the vast burden of civil activity for which India offers so illimitable a field. Appealing to the sympathy of every caste or creed, because they have a single purpose, the alleviation of sickness or distress ; based on no rigid or official organisation, because their methods must vary with the diversity of the evils they seek to ameliorate ; so wide in their activity that they will embrace at once the application of the latest methods of science, and the help that one man or woman can give to another ; these societies have an endless field of activity in India and by their practical and educational work they will, I am sure, maintain that high esteem in which the Red Cross is held throughout the world.

OPENING OF THE 1920 SIMLA SESSION OF THE IMPERIAL  
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council was 20th August  
opened on the 20th August, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. 1920.  
This is the last session of the Council under the existing constitution  
before the Reformed Councils come into being.

The following is the Viceroy's speech :—

I will preface my remarks to-day by a brief reference to the Royal Proclamation which was published on Wednesday

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last to the effect that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India has been unavoidably postponed. This message will, I fear, have caused intense disappointment to the millions of India who were looking forward to giving His Royal Highness such a welcome as only India can give. But the exacting nature of his recent activities has imposed so great a strain on His Royal Highness that it would be ungenerous of us to grudge him that rest which he has so well earned. Anyone who will take the trouble to peruse the reports of the Prince's tour in Australia, will appreciate the great strain to which he has been subjected.

Meanwhile let us extend a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who is already well known in India and who is coming in his place to inaugurate, in the name of our August Sovereign, the new reforms. Finally let us hope that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales may be restored to full vigour and health when he visits India next year.

Once more and for the last time I welcome Hon'ble Members to a Simla Session. I would remind the Council of the great advance which has been made during my tenure of office in the work which is undertaken at these Simla meetings. When I assumed office, under the orders of the Secretary of State we were precluded, except under special conditions and with his leave, from undertaking legislative work at Simla. I obtained an abrogation of those orders and we have carried through legislation in these Sessions similar to that with which we are familiar in Delhi. The necessity for this change is obvious. With the advance of political ideas the appetite for legislation grows. The cynic may deride this, but the tendency is common to all Parliamentary institutions, and as our

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legislative assemblies approximate to Parliamentary bodies, the same incidents, which prevail elsewhere, will inevitably find their place with us.

This Session, as Hon'ble Members probably realise, we are providing a legislative bill of fare which should satisfy the most exacting member. This is due to the circumstances in which we meet. We have to prepare and make ready the way for the new Councils. We have to meet emergencies which have arisen since we last met, and we ought to set in order certain matters which have been long outstanding. In particular I would draw your attention to the necessity for passing such Bills as the Corrupt Practices Bill and the Devolution and Delegation Bill. This is imperative if the Reforms Scheme is to be introduced. Again there are Bills bearing upon the complicated financial position which are vital, the necessity for which will be made clear to you by the Hon'ble the Finance Member. Finally, there are Bills, the urgency of which will be explained by the Hon'ble Members who introduce them, dealing with matters which require early settlement in the public interest. I commend these to you for your earnest consideration.

Since our last meeting one of our most respected colleagues, Mr. Sita Nath Roy, has passed away. The Rai Bahadur was in the Bengal Legislative Council from 1909 to 1912, and in our Council from 1913 to his death. That is a fine piece of work for a commercial man with large business interests of his own to look after. He was always ready to place his experience at the disposal of the Council, especially in Committees. He never imported into our discussions any flavour of bitterness, and we mourn his loss as a loyal, true-hearted gentleman.



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Hon'ble Members will recognise on the Government bench one of their former non-official colleagues—Mr. Sarma. He has always been one of the most diligent and industrious of our members, and I am sure that Hon'ble Members will join with me in offering him our congratulations and in expressing our confidence that that same diligence and industry which he has shown in criticising the shortcomings of Government will now be displayed in constructive statesmanship. Hon'ble Members will have noticed that another of their colleagues has been designated by His Majesty for high office; I refer to Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru. Dr. Sapru has always had the esteem of this Council. His contributions to our debates have been invariably weighty and conceived in a spirit of sober moderation. As Law Member, he is taking a heavy responsibility on his shoulders, and I am sure we will all offer him our congratulations on the high office to which he has been called. The Council will, I am sure, also wish me to offer Sir G. Lowndes our regrets at his approaching departure. We have all admired his legal attainments and the sureness with which he brought them to bear on problems in hand. In debate he has wielded a weapon which has won the respect of all those who have crossed swords with him, but Hon'ble Members have always known that no acute passage-at-arms in debate has ever impaired his ready willingness to help them with counsel and advice or affected their personal relations.

In the speech which I delivered in January last, when opening the previous Session of the Council, I referred to the press of work which the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 had involved and outlined the steps that were being taken for dealing with it. In the interval that has since elapsed we have forwarded for the sanction of the Secretary of State

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and have published for general information drafts of all the rules under the Act to which the approval of Parliament is required. In the preparation of these rules we have been greatly assisted by the loyal co-operation of the provinces and by the suggestions and criticisms of our advisory committee, whose deliberations were marked by a spirit of reason and moderation that I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging. We still await the orders of the Secretary of State as regards the important constitutional rules under sections 45-A and 29-A, but the electoral rules and the rules of legislative business have been approved by Parliament in a form that differs but slightly from the rules as drafted by us. I congratulate the Council on the fact that the electoral rules have been sanctioned at so early a date, because this will enable us to bring the Reforms Scheme into operation sooner than would otherwise have been possible. I am aware of the criticisms that have been passed on some of our rules. It was inevitable that there should be differences of opinion on some points, but I am glad to observe that the provisions to which exception has been taken are comparatively few. Hon'ble Members will allow me to quote paragraph 1 of the first Report of the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament appointed to revise the draft rules made under the Government of India Act—

“ The Committee desire in the forefront of their Report to express their appreciation of the great care and ability which are displayed in the drafts, and of the remarkable expedition with which this heavy task has been achieved by the Government of India and the Local Governments. As will be seen from the Report, the Committee have made but few

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alterations in the rules as drafted by the authorities in India, and they desire to record their considered opinion that the rules, with these few alterations, are an accurate, but at the same time liberal, interpretation both of the general recommendations contained in their Report on the Bill and of the intentions of Parliament in framing the Act."

To those in India who have laboured in this field it must be a matter of great gratification to receive this generous appreciation of their work, and I who have seen this work at close quarters would like to add my humble tribute to that accorded by the Joint Committee.

I now turn to certain matters which, alas! have been subjects of acute controversy. May what I say add no fuel to the fire.

Since we last met Lord Hunter's Committee has reported on the events of last year in the Punjab, Bombay and Delhi. My Government forwarded a despatch to the Secretary of State recording their views on the findings of that Committee and His Majesty's Government have passed their judgment on the whole case. There are those, however, who are dissatisfied with the decision of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government, and they have expressed their dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms. There is much that I could say with reference to the criticisms on this side or on that, but I am content to leave the issues to the verdict of history. For the present moment the matter of paramount importance is that we should concentrate on the problems of the immediate future. Much will depend on the manner in which the new Councils and the new Governments grapple with the task

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to be laid upon them. Are we to enter upon the new era in a spirit charged with the animosities of the past, or shall we leave those things that are behind and press forward to the things that are before? I am confident that so far as Hon'ble Members are concerned their wish is to write upon a clean slate and leave the past behind. I refrain then from doing more to-day than recording the facts and much as I am tempted from the personal point of view to reply to our critics, I would point to the future. There is much work for all of us to do; there are many opportunities opening out for mutual service and co-operation. Can we not steadfastly fix our eyes on these and refuse to be drawn away from our main purpose? It is not then because I underrate the importance or gravity of the events of last year, nor the criticisms on either side which may be passed upon them, that I refrain from discussing them, but because I see in the continuance of those discussions nothing but fresh recriminations tending to further racial exacerbation. There has already been enough, indeed too much, of this on either side and it is calculated to frustrate that spirit of co-operation which lies at the basis of our Reforms and through which alone we can reach the goal of India's aspirations.

To turn from this to the *Khilafat* agitation and the non-co-operation movement. Hon'ble Members are fully aware of the line which my Government have taken in relation to the Turkish Peace Terms, and I need not further dilate upon it. So far as any Government could, we pressed upon the Peace Conference the views of Indian Moslems, but notwithstanding our efforts on their behalf, we are threatened with a campaign of non-co-operation, because, forsooth, the Allied Powers found themselves unable to accept the contentions advanced by

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Indian Moslems. Could anything be more futile or ill-advised? This policy of non-co-operation must inevitably lead, if persisted in, to the discomfort of the community at large, and indeed involve the risk of grave disorder. I am glad to think that everything points to this policy being repudiated by all thinking people, and it is because I and my Colleagues have faith in India's common-sense that we have preferred to allow this movement to fail by reason of its intrinsic inanity. Can we, for instance, picture to ourselves the legal profession generally foregoing its practice in support of this policy? I am proud to belong to this great profession, but I cannot envisage such a possibility, and from one example can we not learn the unpractical nature of this visionary scheme? Much has been made in speeches and the press of an answer given by the Secretary of State to a question in the House of Commons. He said—

“ I am prepared to support any steps the Government of India think necessary in the very difficult situation now arising. But I will not dictate any steps to the Government of India. I would prefer to leave it to them. ”

I think Hon'ble Members will agree with me in thinking that he could have given no other reply. There is a point at which no Government could refuse to take action to protect the interests of the community at large, and when that point is reached, Government is bound to and will use all the resources at its disposal. That is a platitude, but even platitudes require sometimes to be stated. But, as I have said above, I have every hope that this point will not be reached, but that the common-sense of the people and the opposition of all moderate men will erect an insuperable bar to the further progress of this most foolish of all foolish schemes.

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Hon'ble Members expect from me at the opening of each Session a review of the most important matters which are engaging our attention, and I will commence with that subject so vital to good government,—Finance.

Since the close of the Delhi Session various important measures connected with our currency and exchange arrangements have been carried into effect.

I need scarcely remind Council of the change which has come over our trade position, resulting indeed in the month of June last, which is the latest month for which complete trade statistics are available, in an excess of imports over exports of nearly three crores of rupees. Since the armistice our imports have been consistently and increasingly expanding, as indeed might have been expected after the great shrinkage which the conditions of the war brought about in this branch of our foreign trade. At the same time, partly from causes of world-wide application, there has been a reaction in the demand from our customers for our products. Those who drew largely on us during the war for raw materials and finished products have now curtailed their requirements; while others who stand in need of our goods have found it difficult, and even in some cases impossible, to offer satisfactory credit facilities. For instance, the reduced purchasing power of countries which draw their supplies of raw material from us is well exemplified in the curtailment of the demands of our principal customer for cotton, namely, Japan, where a marked change in the trade position, a curtailment of credit, and other domestic difficulties have resulted in the practical stoppage of her purchases of this article.

We have been much concerned at the large stocks, still undisposed of, remaining from the season of 1919-20, and we

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have asked our representatives at the Brussels Conference to consider how far it will be possible by arrangement with representatives of other countries, particularly of Central Europe, to find an outlet for the balance of these stocks which will remain undisposed of at the end of the season, and generally too we have asked that the question of facilities for the financing of our exports to Central European countries, which have been particularly affected by the breakdown of their exchanges, should be taken into consideration. The question is, as Council is aware, largely one of making provision for satisfactory credit facilities.

Another special cause which has very considerably diminished our export trade has been the maintenance of our prohibition on the export of food-grains, which was imposed for the benefit of the general population in India who were affected by the high food prices in the last two years.

I have now indicated to Hon'ble Members the chief source of our embarrassments, *viz.*, the swing-round of the balance of our Trade, from a surplus of exports to a surplus of imports. Let me now bring to their notice the favourable side of our financial picture. During the war we were compelled to impose restrictions upon the movement to and from India of the precious metals. These restrictions have now been entirely removed. Indeed, so far as silver is concerned the position is even better than it was prior to the war inasmuch as we have removed the import duty which was imposed in 1910. As regards gold, Hon'ble Members will remember the emphasis and force with which during last Session the question of the restrictions on the importation of gold were discussed both in this Council and outside. These restrictions

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have now disappeared. We have found ourselves also in a position to remove further restrictions. There is now no restriction on the encashment of notes at Currency Offices, and we have restored the pre-war facilities in regard to their encashment at treasuries. It is satisfactory to note that the result has been to emphasise the confidence which has been shown in our note issue, for during the last two months the return of silver rupees from circulation has been on an immense scale, and we have had no fewer than Rs. 12,38 lakhs of silver tendered to us in exchange for our notes since the 1st April. We have also been able to carry into effect our determination to reduce the fiduciary portion of our note issue. Our metallic reserve on the 31st July was no less than 58 per cent.—a figure which will challenge comparison with that of any other country. Our note circulation on the 31st of January amounted to 185 crores, and has now been brought down to 163 crores—a reduction which has been entirely effected by the withdrawal of that portion of our note issue which was based on securities. Council will remember that we asked for powers at the last Session to hold as high a figure as 120 crores in the investment portion of the Paper Currency Reserve, but we gave a distinct pledge that we would not make use of these powers except for the most pressing reasons. We have discharged to the full our undertaking in this respect, and the securities we now hold as backing to our notes have been reduced to 69 crores. We shall shortly be coming before the Council with our proposals for the permanent constitution of the Paper Currency Reserve and for the transitional arrangements which will be necessary before we are in a position to bring into effect the reconstitution of the Reserve on the permanent basis we desire to see adopted.



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We further propose to alter the ratio at which the sovereign is legal tender from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10 in accordance with the recommendations of the Currency Committee. But in the meantime the restoration of uncontrolled import of gold carried with it the necessity of consequential intermediate measures, for since February, when we announced our intention ultimately to adopt the new rating of Rs. 10 for the sovereign, large quantities of sovereigns have been smuggled through foreign ports for encashment at the privileged rate of Rs. 15. Clearly, it was out of the question to continue, with the restoration of the right to import gold, the obligation on us to pay Rs. 15 for every sovereign. We accordingly demonetized the latter, allowing at the same time a moratorium within which we would continue to pay at this privileged rate. We had given ample notice of our intention to introduce this change through the announcement which we made on the 2nd of February, and advantage has been taken during the five ensuing months by the holders of sovereigns of this opportunity to encash their sovereigns at this rate, for during this period there were presented to us for encashment just under seven millions of sovereigns, of which without doubt a large number represented sovereigns illicitly imported during that period.

I may next refer to the vexed question of emigration and the status of Indians in self-governing Colonies and Dominions, a question which has been engaging our very earnest attention. As you will remember, the position generally accepted at the Imperial War Conference and embodied in what is usually known as the Reciprocity Resolution was that, while each country, including India, must retain the right of deciding for itself what classes of permanent immigrants it would admit, facilities should be given for the admission of wives of persons

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already domiciled in the country and of tourists, students, business-men and other temporary visitors. Negotiations on these points have been proceeding with the different self-governing Dominions and many outstanding points have now been satisfactorily settled. Where, however, the question of status becomes acute is in countries where there are already large bodies of resident Indians. I refer of course to South Africa. The Asiatic Enquiry Commission, to which I referred in my speech last January, has now been sitting for several months.

We do not anticipate that its report will be published before the end of this year, but we know that the Indian case has been very effectively placed before the Commission by Sir Benjamin Robertson, and I think that I am entitled to say that Indians in South Africa have nothing to fear and everything to gain from an impartial investigation into what is often called in South Africa the "Indian menace." I am quite sure that much of the feeling which is unfortunately displayed against Indians in South Africa is due to the fear, which I am afraid has been sedulously fostered by propagandists, that the white population in South Africa generally and in the Transvaal in particular is in danger of being swamped by Indians. Nothing but good can come from an enquiry in which those responsible for exaggerated statements of this kind are compelled to substantiate them in public and to submit to cross-examination. There is every reason to believe that the Commission will address themselves to this point, to which I know Sir Benjamin Robertson attached much importance, and I anticipate that the Commission's report will show how unfounded these fears are. Once the true facts are known, I hope and believe that the agitation will die away, and the

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way will be paved for a peaceful statesmanlike solution of the Indian problem in South Africa.

Before leaving the subject of South Africa, I propose to say a few words on the question of voluntary repatriation. As you are all aware, the Commission has issued an *interim* report advocating a scheme of assisted voluntary repatriation for those Indians who are anxious to return to India, and the Union Government has already taken steps to give effect to this proposal. Let me make clear the position of the Government of India in regard to this scheme. We were not consulted, nor is there any reason why we should have been consulted. The Union Government are merely putting into force a section of an Act which was passed in 1914, and they are clearly entitled to do so. At the same time, the Government of India do not regard the scheme as being in any sense a solution of the Indian problem in South Africa, and they feel that they are entitled to ask for assurances that the scheme will be what it purports to be, namely, a purely voluntary scheme. We have already cabled to the Union Government on this point, and we have asked that the Repatriation Officer may be given clear instructions that no pressure must be put on Indians to accept repatriation, and that it must be left to Indians themselves to decide whether they will take advantage of the scheme or not. We also hope that the Union Government will appoint an Advisory Committee on which Indians are represented to advise the Repatriation Officer. Inasmuch as the scheme is, we understand, already in operation, we have suggested to the Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal that Employment Bureaux should be organised to assist returning Indians to find employment on their arrival in India.

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I hope that these Bureaux will be largely composed of non-official Indians.

I now turn to the even more vexed question of the position of Indians in East Africa. We all know that this question has been discussed recently by Lord Milner with the Governor of the Colony and that the Indian residents in what is now known as the Kenia Colony sent a deputation to England to represent their case to the Colonial Office. We have all read Lord Milner's speech on the subject in the House of Lords on the 14th July, and great anxiety has now been caused in India by a brief summary which has been received of a speech by the Governor of Kenia Colony. This speech indicates that the decision of His Majesty's Government has gone against the Indians in some of the points to which we attach most importance. I regret to say that a telegram which I have just received from the Secretary of State confirms the report of the Governor's speech. I am sorry that I have nothing satisfactory to tell you, but I will give directions for the publication at once of the information contained in the telegram. I am in close communication with the Secretary of State on these and other questions, and the Council may feel assured that the attitude I am adopting with regard to them is the same as that defined in my speech of January last, and I adhere to the position which I then took up. I do not admit that there is any justification in a Crown Colony or a Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. We have continually pressed this point of view upon the authorities at home, and we have urged that the franchise in Kenia Colony should be a common franchise on a reasonable property basis, *plus* an educational test, with no racial discrimination. I have only

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to add that if the decision of His Majesty's Government is not favourable to Indian claims, this result is not in any way due to failure on the part of the Government of India to press the Indian point of view. I reserve further remarks on the subject, and it will be a matter for serious consideration what further action the Government of India must take in order to secure the legitimate rights of Indians in Crown Colonies.

The position of Indians in Tanganyika has also given rise to some anxiety in India, but on this subject I need say no more than that the draft mandate for the territory which, I understand, the League of Nations proposes to give to the British Empire fully safeguards the rights of Indians.

In my speech at the opening of the Delhi Session, I also referred to the fact that two deputations had arrived in India from British Guiana and Fiji, respectively, to endeavour to persuade us to re-open emigration to these Colonies on a new basis. A Committee of this Council was appointed to consider the cases presented by these two deputations. This Committee were not prepared to recommend the immediate acceptance of the schemes put forward and suggested that the Colonies should first be required to give guarantees that the position of the immigrants in their new homes would, in all respects, be equal to that of any class of His Majesty's subjects resident in the Colony, and that if these guarantees were given, deputations should then be sent to both Colonies to investigate local conditions and to report on the suitability of the colonisation schemes suggested. Both the Colonies have now agreed to give the desired guarantees, and, in accordance with the promise made, deputations will be sent to Fiji and British Guiana, respectively, as soon as the *personnel* of these deputations can be satisfactorily arranged. Hon'ble

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Members, however, will realise that owing to the near approach of the elections we have had considerable difficulty in obtaining Indian gentlemen to serve on the deputations.

In my speech at the opening of the last Session of this Council, I referred to the creation of the Board of Industries and Munitions—an organisation which would close down the war commitments of the Munitions Board, would work out those specific recommendations of the Industrial Commission to which effect has not yet been given and would eventually prepare the way for the new Department of Industries. In addition to the Reports of the Chemical Services Committee, the Stores Purchase Committee and the Coal-fields Committee with which the reconstituted Board is now dealing, I wish to mention one or two other matters of particular importance. The first is the conference of Provincial Directors of Industries held in April last. This conference was in the nature of an experiment; the intention was to ascertain whether, by informal discussion and the interchange of views between the Imperial and Provincial Departments of Industries, ideas could be gained, difficulties cleared away, and some measure of co-ordination secured in the activities of the different provincial organisations. I am happy to say that the experiment proved most successful, and there will, I hope, be another such conference in the near future. I am looking forward to the day when these meetings will not be confined to Government officials, but will include representatives of the greater industrial interests as well.

The second subject to which I wish to refer is that of "Labour," to deal with which in all its ramifications it has been necessary to supplement the existing organisation of the

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Board of Industries and Munitions. In view of her new international obligations, India must henceforward maintain contact with the International Labour Office and keep abreast of developments in other countries; we wish too to have at our disposal machinery to facilitate the collection and collation of information relating to labour both in this country and abroad, which will also, we trust, be of value to Provincial Governments and to all who have to deal with local industrial problems. We have already begun to build up a bureau, which we hope will help to attain this end.

And while I am on the important subject of "Labour" I should like to take the opportunity of making a few general remarks. India is an original member of the League of Nations and as such was represented at the Labour Conference at Washington last year. Owing to the short notice we received and the lack of industrial organisation in India, we were unable to consult all sections of employers or employed before nominating our delegates. And while I think you will agree with me that the case for India could not have been better presented than it was by the delegates we selected, we are anxious not to make nominations for the conference to be held next spring at Geneva until opportunity has been given to the interests to be represented of voicing their opinions. I note with pleasure the increasing attention that this matter is receiving from the general public.

Our delegates at Washington found themselves in a position of singular difficulty. Few of the delegates from other countries had any true conception of Indian needs and conditions, and quite a number wished to enforce on India the same restrictions that countries with radically different

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climatic and economic conditions are ready to accept. Our delegates, though fortified by treaty rights, had difficulty in securing the modifications that they considered essential for India. At the same time they all felt, and I cordially agree with them, that the present position in India, as regards certain features of factory legislation, is difficult to defend. We are consulting Local Governments in connection with the revision of the Factories and Mines Acts, and hope to be able to put proposals before you very early next year. In the meantime, we have advanced a strong claim for the inclusion of India among the eight leading industrial countries of the world, which are entitled to seats on the Governing Body of the International Labour Office. It would strengthen our claim to inclusion, and would raise the status of our labouring classes and the prestige of the country as a whole in the eyes of the outside world, if we were able to point to an enlightened and efficient system of factory legislation and to an increased interest in the welfare of labour.

But it is not only in its international aspect that the labour question in India deserves your attention. The recent rise in the cost of living, coupled with the growing consciousness of the workers, has led to considerable industrial unrest. Among working men there is no little dissatisfaction with the conditions under which they live. So far, the chief manifestation of this unrest has been an epidemic of strikes in several parts of the country. I need hardly impress upon you the necessity of reducing strikes and lockouts to a minimum. They result not only in bitter feeling and in great financial loss to the parties directly involved, but also in deep injury to the whole community. If India is to make any real progress under the Reformed Councils, these Councils



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must have the means of expanding the revenue that they control. No great expansion in revenue is practicable without a substantial and continuous increase in India's resources. This increase will depend chiefly on industrial advance, and nothing will do more to check that advance than continuous conflict between employers and employed. If it proves impossible to check industrial discord, the country will be faced with a contraction of its resources that will seriously hamper the work of our legislators and administrators. Suggestions have reached us from several quarters that Government should legislate to prevent industrial disputes. But I attach far more importance to the establishment of right relations between employers and employed than to any Government machinery for arbitration and conciliation. England after many decades of bitter strife is realising that there are better means than strikes or lock-outs for settling disputes, and that the only sound policy is to prevent strikes by removing their causes.

I would earnestly impress upon employers the necessity for sympathetic consideration of the claims of Labour. It has too often proved the case that employers, after a long and ruinous struggle, have been forced to concede claims that they might have allowed with honour and with profit as soon as they were presented. It too frequently happens that employers are in imperfect contact with those they employ, and are consequently unable to redress grievances that finally result in very serious disputes. Workers are beginning to demand not merely the right to live in comfort but a living interest in their work. This is a claim that must be taken seriously, and I see no reason why we should not make our new start abreast of the most advanced European countries.

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So long as Indian industry was organised on a small scale, the close personal contact between the master and each of his men secured intimate, if not harmonious, relations. With the inevitable growth of great factories and mills this contact, in its original form, has become impossible and there is a tendency to allow the bond between employer and employed to become a purely commercial one. It is essential that machinery should be devised which will re-establish under modern conditions personal contact and good understanding. One of the latest developments designed to meet this need elsewhere is the Works Committee, which is intended to enable the employer to realise the difficulties and hardships of his men, and to give the employed an opportunity of making known their needs and of influencing directly the policy of those who control the factory or workshop in which they serve. I have observed with pleasure that this idea has already commended itself to some of the leading employers in India. We are endeavouring to establish similar committees in a few industrial establishments under our control. The welfare of workers, and especially the care of women and children, and provision for the education of the latter, are matters that are engaging the attention of many employers at the present time. My Government is preparing itself, in consultation with Local Governments and employers, to furnish advice and help in this important matter. I sincerely believe that employers, who are willing to meet labour in this spirit and to treat their business as being as much the concern of their workers as of themselves, will find their reward not merely in increased profit, for that will not be lacking, but in the gratitude and loyalty of their men, and in the

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knowledge that they are furthering in the best way possible the contentment and the happiness of their country.

To those who are endeavouring to influence and focus the aspirations of labour I would counsel a similar sympathy and forbearance; their responsibility is even greater than that of the employers. Labour in India is as yet scarcely articulate. But large numbers of working men are being enfranchised and they will look to the leaders of Indian opinion for guidance and help. It will be a tragic and irreparable disaster if India is forced to repeat the long history of industrial strife in England. There will always be men ready to foment strife; some hope to achieve notoriety and influence out of the quarrels of others; more create mischief through ignorance. The great majority of disputes admit of easy settlement, and there is no direction in which sane and sagacious political leaders can exercise a greater influence for good. In any strike it is the workers that suffer first and longest. And if we have to go through a long period of strife, industry will be crippled and the good start that we are making will be lost. To Hon'ble Members I would say, if you can bring capital and labour closer together, if you make it your duty to persuade them that their interest lies in co-operation and not in conflict, you will do more in a few years to better the condition of the workers in India than can be achieved by a life-time of agitation. The future of industrial India is in your hands.

I would especially commend this matter to your earnest consideration, for as you know Industries under the Reforms Scheme will be a transferred subject and Ministers will need all the help which we can give them in this most important matter.

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The passage from the subject of labour to that of food-supply is a natural one, for the average man on the soil thinks in terms of the price of his food.

The improvement in the position of food-supplies in India to which I referred at the opening of the last Session of the Council has, I am glad to say, been maintained. We felt justified in removing at the end of April the only remaining restrictions on the inter-provincial movements of food-grains, and though the effect was to raise prices slightly in some of the producing provinces, the restoration of free conditions of trade conducted I believe to the benefit of India as a whole. The good yield of the crops, and especially that of rice and wheat, has gone far towards replenishing the country's stocks. Much, however, still depends on the future course of the monsoon. The rainfall up to date has been defective in many parts of India, and in the Deccan protracted drought has caused considerable anxiety regarding the fate of the early sown crops and the possibility of sowing a full area, but a few days ago good rain was received almost throughout the tracts which have suffered most, and I hope that it has come in time to save the crops and ensure the fodder-supply. In Northern and Central India and in Burma the rainfall has been good or satisfactory. Owing to excessive rain severe floods have occurred in parts of Orissa and Bengal, causing some loss of human life and extensive damage to property. I should like here to express my sympathy with the sufferers, whose distress every effort is being made to relieve.

Though the prices of wheat and millets have this year shown generally a marked decline, the price of rice has fallen only slightly below the figure which it reached at this time last

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year. Under the scheme introduced for control of Burma rice, we have arranged for the import into India of nearly 650,000 tons of Burma rice at controlled rates since the beginning of the year and have set aside a further quantity to meet India's future requirements. We cannot hope that food prices in India will in the near future or perhaps ever revert to their pre-war standard. Apart from the depreciation in the purchasing value of money, the demands of the war dislocated and greatly reduced the agencies of normal production, and a long period must inevitably elapse before recovery is complete. It is perhaps however not generally realised how favourable are conditions in India in comparison with those in other countries. According to a statement made in Parliament last May food prices since the war had risen in the United Kingdom by 135 per cent., in France by 220 per cent., and in Italy by 306 per cent. In India the prices of rice in Calcutta and of wheat in the Punjab are now only 49 and 38 per cent., respectively, above their figures in August 1914.

I now come to Universities. At your last Session you passed an Act for the constitution of a University at Dacca. Some controversy arose regarding certain sections dealing with communal representation on lines recommended by the Calcutta University Commission and essential for the success of the institution in the conditions which obtain at Dacca. But an amicable arrangement was arrived at in the Council and the measure was received with general acclaim. I trust that its provisions regarding the fundamental proposals of the Commission may form a model for future legislation elsewhere. But the seed which the Commission had sown is already beginning to germinate and

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schemes for new Universities are opening around us thick as flowers in spring. There will be laid before you at this Session a Bill for the constitution of the Aligarh Muslim University. I had hoped that proposals might also be put forward for the reorganisation of the University of Calcutta. But that measure is being postponed. Legislation has also been sanctioned in local Councils for unitary Universities at Rangoon and at Lucknow. Sir Harcourt Butler has shown his usual energy in directing the attention of the educated public in the United Provinces towards the recommendations of the Commission, and he has met with a warm response. Indeed, it looks as though those recommendations were destined to bear fruit in other parts of India earlier than in the University with reference to which they were actually made. I had always contemplated that the report would be of general application, and it is gratifying to find that the soundness and wisdom of its conclusions are finding acceptance in so many quarters.

Coming now to the Army, the only military operations to record are those in connection with the closing stages of the advance into the Mahsud country. I am dealing in that portion of my speech which relates to external affairs, with our Waziristan policy, but I must place on record here the sympathy and pride with which I have followed the story of our gallant troops in Waziristan, and I congratulate them on the success which has attended their arduous operations.

I regret greatly the slowness with which the demobilisation and disbandment of Indian units is taking place, but this is due in the main to causes outside our control. The shortage of shipping has been to a great measure responsible for the non-return of units from overseas. We have been

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obliged to maintain our formations on the frontier at a considerably higher strength than was anticipated. The position in Mesopotamia has forced us to mobilise additional formations for active service.

We are, however, doing everything we can to expedite demobilisation. We hope in the near future to reduce our Trans-Indus forces to normal strength, and we have pressed and are pressing the War Office to push on the repatriation of Indian units from overseas as much as possible.

We have under consideration, at the present moment a scheme for the development of education in the Army. It will be general in so far as its aim is to improve the general capacity of the men, but it will have a vocational side with a view to increasing the economic efficiency and earning capacity of the soldier when he returns to civil life.

Two hundred special jagirs have been distributed to Indian officers in recognition of distinguished service during the war, and as a further mark of recognition of the services of the Indian Army during the war over 300 Indian officers, of whom roughly 200 have been gazetted, have been selected for the grant of Honorary King's Commissions as Lieutenants and Captains carrying substantial increases of pay and pension.

Last September I alluded in this Council to the work on behalf of *ex*-soldiers which was being carried out by the Indian Soldiers' Board under the presidency of my Honourable Colleague Sir George Lowndes.

This work is still being carried on. During the past 12 months the Board acting as almoners on behalf of the Imperial Indian Relief Fund have distributed the sum of 57 lakhs

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of rupees in lump sum donations partly to the dependants of Indian soldiers who have been killed or who have died as the result of active service and partly to Indian soldiers who have been permanently disabled in the Great War. The actual payments of these donations have been made by Local Governments and Administrations in the case of dependants and by the Controllers of Military Accounts in the case of disabled soldiers.

The distribution of land rewards and special pensions to be known as *Jangi Inams* to Indian officers and other ranks who have specially distinguished themselves in the war has been delayed owing to the difficulty experienced in obtaining lists of those recommended for the reward from the widely scattered units of the Indian Army.

A commencement of the distribution has, however, now been made, and some 3,000 officers and other ranks will by the end of October have been placed in possession of valuable plots of land mainly on the Lower Bari Doab Canal, where the standard grant in the case of an officer is 50 acres and in the case of all other ranks 25 acres.

Bills will be introduced for your consideration for the organisation of the Volunteer Force and also for the creation of a framework on which it is hoped to build up an Indian Territorial Force.

A communiqué was issued to the public with regard to these Bills some little time ago, and I have caused copies of it to be distributed so that Hon'ble Members may refresh their memories on the principles underlying these Bills. The Report of the Esher Committee has been received and is being examined. It foreshadows extensive changes in the higher



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organisation of the Army and makes important proposals which will require careful examination in view of the heavy expenditure which they are likely to entail.

At our last Session I gave some account of the measures we were taking to restore the disturbed situation on the North-West Frontier caused by the Afghan war, and I mentioned that the rejection by the Mahsuds of our terms had necessitated the advance of troops into their country. The operations against the Mahsuds have now practically been brought to a close, and as the result of hard fighting we have occupied a central and dominating position in Waziristan. The campaign thus forced upon us, with its heavy cost in treasure and lives, has compelled us to bring under scrutiny the whole of our policy in this troublesome border tract. For many years, ever since we inherited from the Sikhs the task of controlling Waziristan, and especially since the Amir Abdurrahman formally recognised it as lying within our sphere, we have followed the policy of non-interference with its inhabitants. We have, it is true, held two lines of militia forts, along the Tochi in the North and towards Wano in the South, for the purpose of checking raids upon the settled inhabitants of India and upon the caravan traffic proceeding up and down the Gumal. But to this end we have employed mainly the Wazirs and Mahsuds themselves. We have not interfered with their internal affairs and beyond granting them subsidies, to enable them to live without raiding, we have had as little to do with them as possible. We hoped that, if we left them alone, they would leave us alone. This hope has, I regret to say, proved fallacious, and the time has come when we can no longer shut our eyes to the fact. We have had a campaign, more or less important, against Waziristan on an average every four years—some-

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times it has been called an expedition and sometimes a blockade. Since 1852 we have had 17 of these military operations, and since 1911 we have had four, including that just concluded. These have all been occasioned by deliberate aggression against us on the part of tribesmen, who have ravaged the plains whenever they saw an opportunity. During the last few years, when we were occupied first with the Great War and then with the Afghan War, their depredations have been bolder and more intolerable than ever before, since, in spite of our efforts to the contrary, they have obtained arms of precision from certain sources. During the Afghan War they swept over the border tracts of the Derajat and Zhob and even penetrated into the Punjab, robbing and murdering the peaceful villagers, especially the Hindus ; and after the signature of peace with Afghanistan they became even more truculent and absolutely refused the lenient terms which we offered them in the hope of avoiding a campaign.

On a review of the facts we have now made up our minds that this continual and gratuitous provocation can no longer be suffered ; and we have decided, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, that our forces shall remain in occupation of Central Waziristan, that mechanical transport roads shall be constructed throughout the country, especially roads linking the Gumal with the Tochi line, and that our present line of posts shall be extended as may seem necessary. It is not possible to set any limits to the period of our occupation, our main care being that we shall not lose the advantage gained during the past nine months at the cost of valuable lives and of much money, and that there shall be no recurrence of the series of outrages of which I have given you an outline. We hope that the peace which must eventually attend our domination

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of these tribesmen will bring its usual blessings in its train ; that they may be weaned from their life of rapine and violence and may find both in material improvements in their country, such as the extension of irrigation and cultivation and in civilising intercourse with India, a more stable prosperity than they have ever derived from their traditional profession of robbers and marauders.

In order to improve our frontier communications we have, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, sanctioned the extension through the Khyber of the broad-gauge railway which at present terminates at Jamrud. I trust that the time may not be distant when the Afghan Government similarly may build railways down to their frontier, and that in this way a connection may be made between the two countries. Nothing, I am convinced, would more conduce to the mutual advantage and good understanding between the two countries than such a connection, and if the Afghan Government were to wish for it, I can assure them that we shall be ready to co-operate.

I am glad to say that our relations with Afghanistan have been friendly. As is known to you, the Afghan Government sent a delegation to India at the beginning of April to discuss with British representatives all subjects of misunderstanding between the two Governments, in the hope that such discussion might clear the way for subsequent negotiations for a treaty of friendship. Some 15 years had passed since Sir Louis Dane and his mission discussed matters of common interest in Kabul, and I felt that it would conduce to the mutual benefit of ourselves and Afghanistan, if another free and frank interchange of opinions were to take place. The discussions were

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prolonged, as their range was wide; and the Afghan delegation did not return to their country until the end of July. The Afghan Government is now in full possession of the views of the British Government on all matters affecting Afghan interests, and I hope that these discussions may not have been without their value in clearing up doubts and difficulties. I must record my warm appreciation of the labours of Mr. Dobbs and his colleagues during these long discussions, and I sincerely hope that the fuller understanding, which is the result of their work, may form the basis of a permanent establishment of really neighbourly relations between the two States.

Much is being said on the platform and in the press both in India and England at the present moment with regard to the state of India. No one can deny that there are disquieting symptoms of uneasiness and unrest, but are these peculiar to India alone? We must maintain a proper perspective of these phenomena. Look round the world and see if there are not identical symptoms wherever you cast your eyes. They are the swell after a great storm, the aftermath of a great upheaval. And consider, I pray you, the tale of ordered progress which I have unfolded to you this morning. There are high prices, but the rise in India is small as compared with those prevailing elsewhere. There are financial problems which cause us anxiety, but, as I have indicated, we are returning to normality at a pace greatly in advance of the rest of the world. We have removed all restrictions on the flow inwards and outwards of the precious metals, and we have a metallic backing to our note issue which would be the envy of every other country. In Industry we have a country unravaged by war with vast potentialities only waiting development,

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and despite all the pre-occupations of the war and the aftermath of war, we have laid the foundations for this development. On our frontiers we hope, and I put it no higher, that we have a policy which will make for enduring peace. In politics we must admit, alas ! but it is an admission that does not differentiate us from the rest of the world, there are harsh utterances and much bitterness, but here again within a year of the armistice we had inaugurated a Reformed Constitution which gives great scope for personal activities and introduces Indians to a progressive measure of real co-operation and responsibility.

There are three great virtues, which have won the world's acknowledgment, faith, hope and charity, of which three the greatest is charity.

Faith we must all have in the boundless possibilities of this great land. And surely, if we have faith, we must have hope, hope for what is to come, hope for the realisation of those aspirations, which find their first fruits in the new Constitution.

But charity the greatest of the three ! Is not charity the one thing needful to-day ? Without it all our doings are nothing worth. With it we can face the future in the sure and certain knowledge that our efforts will not be in vain.

LAST MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,  
SIMLA SESSION, 1920.

16th September 1920. The last Meeting of the last Session of the Imperial Legislative Council, established under the Morley-Minto Constitution, was held at

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*Last Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, Simla Session, 1920.*  
Viceregal Lodge on the 16th September 1920, His Excellency the Viceroy presiding. His Excellency in concluding the session said:—

I think we shall all congratulate His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief on the passage of the two Bills which he has presented to Council. Since we met together on August 20th the news has come that His Excellency is about to relinquish his post. I am sure Hon'ble Members will wish me to offer to him a respectful and affectionate farewell.

When Sir Charles Monro arrived in this country we were in the throes of the Great War, and it was of paramount importance that India should put forward her best effort and throw all her available forces into the struggle. We all know what India did and while we are not forgetful of the services of others, we cannot forget the pre-eminent services of the Commander-in-Chief. Always cheerful, never cast down, nor overwhelmed by the magnitude of his task, he heartened everybody to the great endeavour. The two great Boards which contributed so much to the accomplishment of India's contribution always had from him unwavering support and encouragement; indeed the Munitions Board was established on his initiative. He indeed has had a hard row to hoe. While his energies were being concentrated on the War effort, he had to face schemes of reconstruction, and when it looked as if we could settle down to demobilisation and reconstruction he was faced with the Afghan operations with an army weary of war and depleted of experienced officers and trained men by reason of the great expansion which had taken place. And now for the past year he has been labouring at reconstruction handicapped by the fact that large forces from India were overseas and we were unable to get them back. When I survey all this

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and I know if from inside, I can only wonder at what he has been able to accomplish.

But there is the personal side of his departure. We shall miss his contributions to our debates. The soldierly directness of his utterances, the unexpectedness of his replies have always added a flavour to our discussion, which we shall miss. But above all we shall miss that genial personality which has always been such a delight to us. I offer him and Lady Monro on behalf of us all our sincere regret at their departure and our good wishes for their future.

The last session of the Council established under the Morley-Minto Constitution is now about to close, and I must congratulate Hon'ble Members on the legislative work which they have accomplished. In my opening speech I commended the Bills which had been prepared by Government to your earnest consideration. That consideration has been given in full measure, and as a result we have put through some highly important legislation. In particular I must mention the Aligarh University Act skilfully piloted through the Council by my Hon'ble colleague Mr. Shafi. It is a matter for congratulation that the Government in close co-operation with the Moslem community have been able to pass an Act, ardently desired by all educated and thinking Mahomedans and calculated to be of inestimable advantage to the community concerned. Another piece of legislation of importance to Mahomedans is the Cutchi Memons Act which has been passed to-day. Then again we have been able to put through the Imperial Bank Bill and other important Financial Legislation.

Before I conclude I wish to refer briefly to the fact that have in this session found it necessary to disallow a resolution

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*Last Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, Simla Session, 1920.*

dealing with the question of the Punjab disturbances and I do so with a view to remove any misapprehension that may exist as regards the motives which prompted me.

The resolution in itself was a legitimate one and when I say that it was Mr. Sastri who wished to move it, you will understand that it was prompted by genuine feeling and sincerity of purpose. I felt, however, that if peace and good-will are at any time to be restored to the Punjab, these public discussions of the happenings of last year must, so far as possible, be brought to an end. We have been discussing these matters in the press and on the platform, in this Council, and in Parliament for nearly a year and a half. I feel as keenly as any in this Council the need for holding Indian life and honour sacred in times of crisis like that of last year, and my Government is providing means for ensuring that if similar occasions should unfortunately recur, the errors and excesses pointed out by the Hunter Commission shall not again take place. But we know from unhappy experience that with each fresh discussion of these topics the chances of reconciliation and good feeling between the communities become more remote. I felt therefore that it was contrary to the public interests that we should gratuitously prolong the unhappy dissensions of the past. We have had enough of hatred and passion, and what we want now is good-will and peace. It is with this object, and this object alone, that I have excluded the subject from discussion in this Council.

And now it only remains for me to wish Hon'ble Members farewell. It would be unseemly, I presume, for me to wish those of you who are about to offer yourselves for election, good luck. But this at least I may do ; express the hope that those



*Farewell Dinner at the United Service Club, Simla.*

services which you have rendered so conspicuously this session, may not be lost to the country, and that the spirit of co-operation may mark all your endeavours. And so the last session of this Council comes to an end, only, however, to give place to a larger and more representative Assembly. Institutions under our British tradition do not die. They find a new birth in reincarnation. "The King is dead, long live the King."

## FAREWELL DINNER AT THE UNITED SERVICE CLUB, SIMLA.

11th October  
1920.

The members of the United Service Club, Simla, 'entertained His Excellency the Viceroy at a farewell dinner on the 11th October 1920. After dinner the Hon'ble Sir William Marris proposed the health of the Viceroy, who in reply said:—

*Sir William Marris, Your Honour, Your Excellency and Gentlemen*,—I can only say thank you, and thank you again, for the generous way in which Sir William Marris has proposed, and you have received, the toast of my health. Once in five years it comes to you to bid God-speed to a Viceroy and Governor-General of India. This practice reminds me of a celebrated Dutch picture, which hangs on the walls of The Hague gallery. It is entitled "The School of Anatomy." On the table there lies exposed to the view of the whole world a *corpus vile*—the Viceroy: around the table are the students—yourselves: at the feet of the *corpus vile* is the demonstrator, a learned doctor, Sir William Marris. I cannot help feeling that that *corpus vile* which is depicted in that famous picture could have had no more kindly and able demonstrator than the man whom you have elected as President for this year and who has proposed my health. There are certain qualities which are the distinguishing qualities of the great Services

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in India as a bulk—a fine brain, a facile pen and perfect loyalty. I believe these qualities are combined, and I have found them to be combined, in Sir William Marris in a marked degree. He has worked with me in the most intimate way and on the closest terms for some three years, and in each one of these qualities I have found him always pre-eminent.

I thank Sir William Marris for his kindly reference to my wife. Everybody knows how much a wife must mean to anyone in my position. My wife has stood by me now for 15 years in similar positions to this, and I know though I shan't tell you to-night what it has meant to me. But she has always made this point in her work wherever she has been, that she would endeavour not to start anything fresh of her own but to take up her predecessors' work and keep it going. And I think those who have worked with her on the Dufferin Fund, on the Lady Minto Nursing Association and on the Lady Hardinge Medical College will know how she has thrown herself into these works, which are associated with other names, with all the enthusiasm as if the works had been her own. I have to thank Sir William Marris also to-night because, while he has not spared me, yet at the same time everything has been said with such exquisite felicity and taste. He has embarked on no private topic which might invade the sanctity of the privacy of a man's life. And, therefore, I shall myself observe that rule. But perhaps I may throw a side-light on my domestic history by a little story. About six months after I had been in India, my small girl, Margaret, was riding a pony and some stranger came up to her and said : " Who are you ? " and she said " My name is Margaret St. Clair Thesiger ; my daddy works very hard and my mummy is the Viceroy."

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And now what am I to say? I must first of all deal with that side which Sir William Marris dealt with first in his speech and that is his allusion to the fact that I came out here as a soldier. I do not think I was a good soldier. I think a soldier must be caught young—at 18—and not at 47. I must confess that the discipline was irksome. I know that Army Head-Quarters and the high military authorities did all they could to make the task of the Territorial in India easy. We had old soldiers sent down to shepherd us. It was a kindly thought, but they put up our Territorials to all the old soldier tricks. We had lectures from distinguished officers as to how we should behave to Indians. I remember one Senior Officer, who has won great distinction since and is now a well-known General, lecturing to us; but the only piece of advice that he gave that I was able to carry away with me was this, that if I happened to be riding in the same carriage with a Maharaja I should sit on the left side and not on the right. Unfortunately as a Territorial I did not drive in a carriage with any Maharaja and ever since I have sat on the right side. But I am sure of this that the Army in India will say that, inconvenient as the Territorials were when they came out here—and I am sure we were a great nuisance—they did a great deal for the lot of the British soldier in India; and perhaps they were not an unfitting stepping-stone from the old Tommy Atkins, who had no Member of Parliament, to the present man, who probably belongs to a Union and has certainly many Members of Parliament to plead his cause. I think also that the indiscipline of the officers was not altogether without its value. I recollect on one occasion I myself had sent down a subaltern—a very good business man—to the D. D. O. (I hope he

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is not present here) to get my Company accounts clear. He happened, when he had taken possession of that much maligned official's office, to discover that a certain circular was going to be sent out with regard to the pay of Territorial officers. He felt perfectly confident that that circular was wrong; that it was not based on good authority, because the pay of all the junior officers had only just been raised and this circular proposed to reduce the pay of all the senior officers. Well, naturally I took a little interest in this, and in the most irregular manner I wrote to the Commander-in-Chief. In the course of time I got a letter from the Adjutant-General. Now, can you fancy a Captain in the Regular Army either writing to the Commander-in-Chief or getting a reply from the Adjutant-General? But I got a reply from the Adjutant-General in which he informed me that my information was quite correct: that this circular had been issued, but that it was incorrect and would be withdrawn.

Now I should like to say a word about the first six months after I took up office. As you know, and as Sir William Marris has told you this evening, my advent was marked almost simultaneously by the fall of Kut. I suppose in a military sense the surrender of a Division is not regarded as a great loss in these days of colossal losses, but that it was a moral blow to the Indian Army and to the British Empire is undoubted. But I say confidently that from that moment we never looked back in India, and I am at a loss to understand how Army Head-Quarters, who had to reconstruct the whole position, were able to get through their work and cope at the same time with the criticisms and complaints which reached me from home. My correspondence—

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I looked at it only the other day to refresh my memory—with the Secretary of State for the first six months I was here, is full of nothing but complaints and stories about breakdowns here and breakdowns there: why is this being done and why is that not being done? And these men who had to reconstruct the whole position had to endeavour to work out answers to satisfy the Secretary of State. I will say that Mr. Chamberlain tried to be most reasonable in this matter. But from time to time I remonstrated and protested against our having this extra work put upon us while we were in the throes of reconstruction. He said, however, "I am obliged to meet enquiries in the House and I must ask you to get this information. I recognise that people are not always fair." I remember one case particularly in which severe attacks were made by a paper on the administration of a certain hospital. I endeavoured to get information as to where that hospital was. I could not get that information at first, and it took me literally two months before I could get from that paper news as to where the hospital was situated in India. I immediately ordered an enquiry into the case. There was not a single doctor nor a single nurse left in that hospital. You can only put things right if people play fair by you and give you information promptly. Through all the obloquy, however, which was thrown upon them and despite this extra work, Army Head-Quarters plugged away, and I am confident that our present Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Monro, will say that when he arrived in India he found a great deal of the reconstruction work was already in progress and well in hand. I shall not dwell upon ~~what has been done since.~~ We all know what has been done—

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a very remarkable feat—but I think I will point to one fact. We are at the present moment practically supplying the striking military force of the British Empire in all theatres where we have military obligations. I think that in itself is ample proof of what India has been able to do in the war and after and our justification.

I would like to say to those who have been and—though I am only a seconded member of the Territorial Force—who are, I presume, still my brother officers that both in a humble capacity and as Viceroy my association with the Army has been a liberal education. The delightful camaraderie, the single-eyed endeavour to do their duty, the wonderful care of the British officer for his men will remain marked memories of my six years in India. There is only one word which I should like to say—not of advice but of suggestion: We must here in India keep the closest co-operation between the civil and the military sides. The first document that I put in the Commander-in-Chief's hands when he paid me a visit on his way up to Delhi in October 1916 at Agra, was an admirable memorandum written for me by Sir Michael O'Dwyer on co-operation. Co-operation between the military and the civil, and out of that sprang one of the most successful institutions which we established during the war—the Recruiting Board, so admirably presided over by Sir William Meyer. I am perfectly confident that the civil side will always co-operate to the best of their ability with the military. But I would beg the military side to remember that important as military secrecy is, if they are to get the best co-ordination and intelligence, there must be the closest co-operation on their side also with the civil.

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Now I will turn to the civil side. Sir William Marris has given you a sketch of my civil administration which I cannot, with all respect, recognise. But still from the approval which it met with from those who are present, I am sure it represents an accurate and truthful representation of that side. Well, I am not going to attempt myself this evening to reel off to you figures and facts such as might appear in an annual register. Nor am I going to anticipate that truthful volume which is always compiled during the last days of a Viceroy's administration—under his auspices and supervision!—entitled: “The Administration of Lord Chelmsford from 1916 to 1921.” But perhaps there are one or two governing principles and governing considerations which I might briefly put before you. I will be very brief. In this question of reform in India I have always had—and this is not the first occasion I have spoken on the subject—I have always had before my eyes the parallel of the tragic history of Ireland. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as is familiar I am sure to almost everybody here, William Pitt had a policy with regard to Ireland. That policy was never carried out in its complete form. He was able to carry out one portion of it—the Act of Union, but all that portion which was intended to bring the Roman Catholics and the Roman Catholic Priesthood in Ireland into close co-operation with British rule had to be dropped owing to the stubborn refusal of the King of the time. Now of course no historic parallels are ever complete, but I do suggest that the position of the Roman Catholic Priesthood in Ireland in 1801 and of the educated Indian in India to-day is not vastly dissimilar. In both cases they form a very small fraction of the population; in both cases they form the educated portion of the community; in both cases they have no administrative

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experience ; but in both cases—and it has been proved in the case of Ireland—if you don't win their co-operation, they have an infinite capacity for harm ; and so it is that I laid myself out from the very beginning to see if I could not win the co-operation of the educated classes in India. I have never thought for a moment of winning the co-operation of all the educated classes in India, but at all events of such a fraction of those educated classes as would stabilise our rule in India. Now some have said, and I have seen it quite lately, that these troublous times through which we are passing at the present moment are due to these reforms. Surely if there is one thing, which it is not due to, it is not due to them. We have on our side, I believe, at the present moment a very large portion of the educated classes ; and I ask you if that were not the case, if they were united with the extremist of the extremists, what would our position be to-day ? And, therefore, I would plead with those who think over these matters not to make such an accusation lightly but to be fair and sane in their estimate of the situation.

And now let me turn to another principle<sup>1</sup>, the consideration of which has actuated me during my administration. Men are apt to use glibly the facile epithets of “weak” and “strong,” but what do those epithets when they use them mean except that, if an administration is pleasing to them, they call it “strong,” if it is displeasing, they call it “weak.” These epithets are epithets of prejudice, and they afford no criterion by which an administration can be judged. No, the only true test of any administration, or any administrative act, is “Is it wise or is it unwise ?” and by that verdict I am prepared to have my acts judged. And I would ask you to ponder over some words of Burke (the immortal Burke, as our friend



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Surendranath Banerjee would have said) : “ Those who wield the thunder of the State may have more confidence in the efficacy of arms, but I confess, possibly for want of this knowledge, my opinion is much more in favour of prudent management than of force ; considering force not as an odious but a feeble instrument. Terror is not always the effect of force and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource ; for conciliation failing, force remains ; but force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left.” I believe those words of Burke are as true to-day as a hundred and more years ago when they were uttered.

I am in the presence to-day of a large number of representatives of the great Services and I hear you say : “ Yes, but what of us ? ” That is a fair question and I am not going to blink it. Your domination will be changed, but it will be, I am confident, a domination still : but a domination of influence and not of command.

One hesitates to dogmatise about what an Indian really thinks. I am sure those who have spent many years in this country will hesitate to dogmatise and I should naturally hesitate more than any other. But I do believe that the Indian reverences the expert. I believe that knowledge, experience, brains and character will always win through. You will have to deal with Ministers. Now, whatever view you take of the character of Indians, they are not fools, and when a Minister takes up his administration, I feel perfectly confident that the last thing that he is going to do is to destroy the instrument by which he may make his reputation. One of our greatest administrators and statesmen—Joseph Chamberlain—who mastered and dominated

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his office, once said,—“The Minister who comes into a Department and thinks that he is going to be able to run that Department without the loyal assistance of his office makes the greatest of mistakes;” and I believe that which was necessary for a great administrator and statesman like Joseph Chamberlain will be found to be necessary by Ministers and they will readily recognise its necessity.

I said just now that knowledge, experience, brains and character will win through. Before the Great War some of us might have been doubtful about the character of our race. We might have felt that we were, as the Germans believed us to be, a decadent race and a race from which the grit and character of the old days had passed away. But who can doubt after these past five years that our character stands as sound as ever it did; that it has been subjected to a test to which even our forefathers were never subjected; and that we have come through triumphantly. We can only fail, I feel confident, if we have doubts. I have no doubts myself. I am confident that we shall succeed.

There is one more matter in respect of which I pray you to cast out your fears. We are passing through anxious times and pessimistic rumours of the deepest dye come over the Reuters to us in India. (No, Mr. Buck is not to blame!) But I think some of us are responsible. I fear that some of us do write home in such a gloomy strain about the situation in India that those at home, without a closer view, seem to think that things are very bad indeed. Personally I refuse to say good-morning to the devil until I meet him, and I would stigmatised this attitude as wanting in foresight and in perspective. I say it is shortsighted, out of perspective because it puts out

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of sight all the other factors which, I believe, are making for good at the present time in India. In many respects there was never a more hopeful time: in many respects there is every reason not only for hopefulness, but for optimism. I would say then to these men that their attitude is cowardly, because we will win through, we shall win through because we are what we are. We have not ceased to have the character, the grit, the determination of our forefathers, and therefore I say, however great the difficulties which we may have to face, we are going to see them through.

I began this evening by saying that I would speak about certain principles. There is one principle to which I have always paid homage, but as to which I am beginning to have some doubts. It is an old Latin tag—*Medio tutissimus ibis*. I believe now that there should be a proviso to that principle "Provided you picket the heights." I have consistently endeavoured to walk down the middle and I have only received brickbats from both sides. But I can say: "my head is bloody but unbowed."

I must not sit down, however, without paying my tribute of gratitude and admiration to the great Services who have been my colleagues during these many years—not only to those who have served with me in Council: they know my feelings towards them and I believe those feelings are reciprocated by them—but to that wonderful Secretariat, both in the senior and junior ranks, who have, as I believe, no rivals in any Civil Service of any country under the sun. There has been no crisis, no problem, which has arisen during my time which has not thrown up a man not only adequate but more than competent to meet it successfully. And I would

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also like to pay here my sincere and humble tribute to that great silent band of District Officers, both in the plains and on the frontier, whom no Viceroy can ever know and whom no Viceroy can ever personally thank. Sometimes their desire to meet the wishes of the Viceroy have embarrassing results. I remember on one occasion (it was not long after I came to India) that I was making a tour in Burma. It is the custom of the Comptroller of my Household to send on to the various places at which the Viceroy stops a menu of the dinners which he proposes to take at the various places. I need hardly say that there is always inserted a proviso that if a particular article is not obtainable in the district another one can be substituted at the discretion of the District Officer. When I arrived at one place at which the menu showed that I was to start my dinner with ox-tail soup, my Military Secretary was immediately confronted by the District Officer who presented him with a large bill. He said: "What on earth is this?" "Well," said the District Officer, "I was told to provide the Viceroy with ox-tail soup; there were no oxen in this district: I had to send for them a hundred miles. I sent for six and kept them and fed them and I must request you to pay the bill." I can only say that that bill was paid and that that District Officer now holds a very high position in the Government of Burma.

Very nearly forty years ago a British army was advancing at night across the deserts of Egypt to attack the enemy lines. They were led by a young naval officer by compass and by the stars. At the first discharge from the Egyptian lines that young officer fell mortally wounded. The General after the battle went to see him in the hospital, and the only

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Chelmsford Training College,  
Sanawar.*

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words the poor fellow could say were: "General, did I lead them straight?" My years of office are coming to a close as a tale that is told. They have been years marked, in the words of the Litany, by "plague, pestilence, famine, battle, murder and sudden death." I ask for no man's praise and I accept no man's blame, but I will ask of those who have known me, I will ask of those who have worked under me, I will ask of those who have borne with me the anxiety and cares of these past days—Did I lead you straight?

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE CHELMSFORD  
TRAINING COLLEGE, SANAWAR.

20th October  
1920.

His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford and Staff, left Simla on the 20th October on the autumn tour. The same day the party paid a brief visit to Sanawar and His Excellency in laying the Foundation Stone of the Government Training College said :—

*Colonel Wright, Colonel Woolridge, Ladies and Gentlemen,—*  
It has given me great pleasure to be able to come here to-day and to lay the foundation stone of a College, which, I trust, will continue on more ample lines the good work already done by the Sanawar Training Class and through the influence of its alumni will advance the true interests of the domiciled community, whose youth these masters are destined to train.

Before I come to the matter in hand, I should like to congratulate the school on the prefix of Royal, which has been graciously bestowed on them by His Majesty.

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Chelmsford Training College, Sanawar.*

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The Director of Public Instruction has already told you the history of the original foundation and has shown how well this small Training Class has fulfilled its purpose and how its men have upheld their traditions and ideals not only as teachers in the schools of India but as soldiers in the mighty struggle that even now re-echoes in distant lands.

But the new Training College, with which I am glad that my name is to be associated, will have a larger rôle to fill. In every country of the civilised world men are busy at the task of re-construction, and in all lands it is recognised that on the right education of its children depends the happiness and prosperity of the realm. It is only by the fostering of upright and self-reliant character, and by the development of intellectual gifts, that a sane and broad-minded judgment on the problems of life can be given by the citizen of the new age which is opening before us.

The question of the training of teachers is one in which I have always taken the deepest interest. It lies at the root of any real educational advance, and in my speeches I have made constant reference to its importance.

Here in India we must take up this question if we are to progress, and with us it is perhaps even more important than in some other lands, wherein long-established systems have produced a mental attitude favourable to this undertaking. I sincerely hope that the new Ministers throughout India, to whom the educational policy will be committed, will realise its paramount importance, and not only devote their attention to the training of teachers, but to the uplift generally of the teaching profession. India of old had a profound reverence for the "guru." Let her see to it that the "gurus "

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*Opening of the new buildings of the Government Engineering School,  
Nagpur.*

of to-day receive the treatment which befits their high calling. I can conceive of no better time than the present for the expansion of a Training Class into a Training College and of no higher ideal for the men of such a College than to strive manfully to the end that the boys whom they are to teach shall become good citizens and good men.

OPENING OF THE NEW BUILDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT  
ENGINEERING SCHOOL, NAGPUR.

23rd October 1920. Their Excellencies and party arrived at Nagpur on the 22nd October, and His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the new buildings of the Engineering School there on the 23rd said :—

*Gentlemen,*—It is a great pleasure to me that my visit to Nagpur should give me the opportunity of opening the new building for your Engineering School, and I cordially congratulate you on the progress which the school has already made.

I note with satisfaction from the Principal's address, that every student, who has successfully passed out of the school, has obtained suitable employment. This fact indicates that the education and training imparted are appreciated by employers, and that the utility of the school is fully established.

When the modest scheme originally planned for the Engineering School was under consideration, the Chief Commissioner had in view the probability that it would

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*Opening of the new buildings of the Government Engineering School,  
Nagpur.*

become an important factor in the general industrial development of the Province. But, to ensure that, from the start its successful students would be able to obtain suitable employment, the school was designed, in the first instance, to train pupils for what at the time were the most obvious requirements, and of these the Public Works Department was the chief.

Although the requirements of the Public Works Department have grown since then, especially with the extension of irrigation works, the direct requirements of the public service do not offer the only or the most important openings for young engineers. The textile industries are extending successfully here at Nagpur, the mining of manganese-ore and coal are developing steadily; cement manufacture has proved to be profitable, and serious attention is now being given to the bauxite deposits and the development of hydro-electric power. For these, as for oil-milling, tanning and leather working, technical experts are in growing demand, especially those trained in the various branches of practical engineering.

There are many parents here who foresee a healthy growth of technical industries in the Central Provinces and Berar, and who wisely realise that opportunities for private enterprise are now as attractive for their sons as Government service. The constitution of your governing body and the policy which I know actuates the administration of the Central Provinces are guarantees that the demand for employment in private industrial concerns is being closely followed, and the curriculum of the school is already adopted to meet



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*Opening of the new buildings of the Government Engineering School, Nagpur.*

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it. The creation of educational institutions by Government merely to meet its own demand for employment savours to my mind of the economic constitution facetiously alleged to exist in the Scilly Islands, where the inhabitants are falsely said to live by taking in one another's washing.

I am glad to note the practical interest already taken in the school by your leading industrialists ; and the markedly successful results which it has already shown should stimulate and widen that interest. I am glad to hear that you are already contemplating the creation of a connection between the Engineering School and the suggested provincial University, and I welcome the statement that you are thus keeping before you the idea of ultimately raising the school to collegiate status. I should like, however, to take this opportunity of saying a few words regarding the policy of the Government of India in respect of institutions for training and research in industrial and engineering subjects. We realise that it is impossible at present for most provinces to maintain really first-class institutions for the highest grade of teaching in specialised technical subjects. The Government of India, therefore, are framing schemes for the foundation of supplementary All-India institutions to provide facilities for teaching and research in mining and geology, in engineering, in tanning and leather working, and in other subjects. These institutions will be, in the first instance, founded where the industrial atmosphere most facilitates their healthy growth and their adaptation to practical needs. For the immediate future they will be the only practicable means in India for providing training of the

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*Opening of the new buildings of the Government Engineering School,  
Nagpur.*

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specialised type that is now necessary in all forms of advanced technology ; but, as time goes on, the financial resources of the provinces will increase and the general level of technical knowledge will rise, so that it should be possible, perhaps sooner than we can at present anticipate, for high-grade technological colleges to be established in each of the principal provinces. When that time arrives, the so-called central institutions may either be handed over to the appropriate provincial administrations or they may be retained as research and post-graduate colleges. Their establishment will thus in no way clash with your ideal, but these institutions will be rather fore-runners, preparing the way for each province to be self-contained in matters of technical training.

As your school grows and you approach the borderland of collegiate status, you will be faced with the apparently conflicting claims of the class-room and the workshop. The Industrial Commission discussed the results of experience in this difficult question, and I agree with their conclusions that, whether an institution be devoted to elementary technical training or to the more specialised forms of technology, it will not attain its full value, either as an educational medium or as an aid to industrial development, unless its theoretical and laboratory work be supplemented by actual workshop practice under commercial conditions ; and, so far as is possible, a measured quantity of such practical experience might be a recognised part of the curriculum laid down for your final diploma of proficiency. Processes and formulæ can be learnt in technical schools, but it is only in the commercial workshop that the money value of time is thrust on the young apprentice ; it is there that he is forced to distinguish between

*Shillong Municipal Address.*

essential and subsidiary work ; it is there that he receives the special form of mental discipline which results in efficiency in action. A student is not long in discovering that time lost during the session can often be made up by a little extra pressure before the final examination ; but in the commercial workshop time lost can never be recovered — “ the mill cannot grind with water that is past.”

The presence of experienced practical men on your governing body ensures for this school full recognition of the value of actual training in works, and through their influence the students will get facilities for obtaining practical experience during their school course and suitable employment afterwards. The marked success so far obtained by the methods of training hitherto adopted give me confidence in predicting for the Nagpur Engineering School an extension and continuance of its career of usefulness.

I have detained you long enough, gentlemen. I have now much pleasure in declaring your new school buildings open and in wishing your institution success and prosperity.

## SHILLONG MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

30th October 1920. His Excellency and Staff arrived at Shillong on the afternoon of October 30th. An address of welcome from the Municipal Board was presented at Government House and in reply His Excellency said :—

*Gentlemen.*—As you are aware, every Viceroy is expected to visit the major provinces and the more important States

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*Shillong Municipal Address.*

of India during his term of office, and it is not easy for him to break new ground. Nevertheless the warmth of your welcome, for which I thank you gratefully, and the beauty of your surroundings convince me that I shall never regret my decision to pay you a visit and are ample compensation for any inconvenience involved in a rather long railway journey. The eloquent terms in which your Chairman has just described the charms and beauties of Shillong are, I realise, no mere rhetoric but a statement of fact.

But that this is no Lotos-land where you are content "to live and lie reclined on the hills like gods together careless of mankind" is clear from the record of your municipal activities—a record of which you may well be proud. You have realised too that mere efficiency is not everything. Modern improvements imposed by an enlightened few upon an indifferent population are no doubt valuable, but they are a less healthy phenomenon than steady advance in response to popular demand and dissatisfaction with insanitary conditions. It is for this reason that I learn with pleasure the decision of the Local Government that a majority of your Commissioners are in future to be elected. I am confident that this change in your constitution will make for still further advance, and I trust that your lady rate-payers will exercise a healthy influence and will use their franchise for the good of their own sex and the benefit of the community as a whole.

You strike a note which cannot fail to harmonise with my wishes, as Head of the Government of India, when you say that you do not propose to prefer any request for financial or other aid. Self-reliance should be the motto of every municipality. Where necessary reforms involve expenditure beyond

*Sylhet Local Board Address.*

your means, you are right to look to the Local Administration for help, and I am gratified to learn that you have met with a sympathetic response.

I share your regret that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been compelled to postpone his visit to India this winter. The accounts which we had read of His Royal Highness' popularity in the Dominions he has visited and of his personal charm had added to the eagerness which we naturally felt to welcome him as the eldest son of His Majesty the King-Emperor. But our disappointment is tempered by the hope that he will visit us next year.

In conclusion, let me thank you for your kind reference to Her Excellency. She was most anxious to accompany me, but she has not been in the best of health and the fatigue of so long a journey would have imposed an undue strain upon her. I thank you once more for the welcome which you have extended to me, and I assure you that I shall always retain a most pleasant recollection of your beautiful station and its beautiful surroundings.

## SYLHET LOCAL BOARD ADDRESS.

4th November 1920. His Excellency and Staff arrived at Sylhet on the morning of the 4th November. His Excellency received an address of welcome from the Sylhet Local Board to which His Excellency made the following reply:—

I thank you very heartily for the cordial welcome which you have extended to me, and I should like to express the very great pleasure which it has given me to visit this interesting, if somewhat remote, part of the Indian Empire. I congratulate

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*Sylhet Local Board Address.*

you on the privilege which you enjoy of electing your own non-official Chairman, a privilege of which, if I am not misinformed, you have made good use. I thank you for your reference to my part in the evolution of the Reforms Scheme. I am glad to think that I shall see the inauguration of this scheme, and though I shall have left India before any very tangible results can be expected, yet I shall always watch with close interest the progress of the new Councils and trust that they may work for the advancement and prosperity of this great Empire.

I have listened with interest to the narration of your needs and aspirations. In matters of this sort, however, you must naturally look in the first place to the Local Government, upon whose sympathy you can always depend. I am informed indeed that the difficult question of the silting of the Surma River has for some time past been engaging their attention, though the matter is so fraught with difficulties that no ultimate solution is at present in sight.

The other matter which you mentioned is the lack of good communication between Sylhet and the adjoining hills and Shillong. This is indeed a matter of vital importance and you do well to give it your earnest attention. Here again you are confronted with very serious natural difficulties. Owing to the flooded state of the country between the hills and Sylhet all previous attempts at railway construction have, I believe, resulted in disastrous failure. The difficulties may not, for aught I know, be insuperable, but here again I must leave it to the Local Government to decide whether, in view of the rival claims of other parts of the Province and of the resources available for its development, it is possible to contemplate

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*Sylhet Municipal Address.*

a fresh attempt. I learn, however, with satisfaction that you are receiving this year, for the improvement of your communications, a grant of 1½ lakhs—a grant which it is hoped may be even larger in future years.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I thank you once more for your kindly welcome and your good wishes, and I trust that you will continue to show in the future, as in the past, a useful career of local administration and development.

#### SYLHET MUNICIPAL ADDRESS.

4th November 1920.

His Excellency and Staff arrived at Sylhet on the morning of the 4th November. His Excellency received an address of welcome from the Municipal Board and replied as follows :—

I thank you very warmly for the cordial welcome which you have given me. It is a real pleasure to me to see in person a part of India of which I had heard so much, and I am very glad that it has been possible for me to fulfil my ambition of paying you a visit before I leave India.

Your Municipality has a long and a distinguished record, and I congratulate you both on your manifold activities and on the privileges which you enjoy in the form of an elective majority and an elected non-official Chairman. The first duty of a Municipality is to ensure to the inhabitants a good supply of pure water and a satisfactory system of conservancy. These duties, I am glad to learn, you have efficiently performed ; in particular, I am informed that your water-works are really excellent.

But your duty does not end here and that you realise this is evident from the programme of further improvements

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*Sylhet Anjuman-i-Islamia Address.*

which you have enumerated. Among them you mention an improved drainage scheme. This no doubt is a matter of first-rate importance, and I am told that a scheme such as you desire would cost about one lakh—a sum beyond your present resources. Under the Reforms Scheme you must look for assistance to the Minister who will be appointed in due course and who will be in charge of sanitation. I am confident that your request will be sympathetically considered, and I trust that sufficient funds may be forthcoming for the realisation of your ambition.

The question of erosion is one with which other towns in this part of India are confronted and which as you say must be faced. It is, however, a purely local matter on which I am afraid I can offer you no advice, but I learn that the situation will be examined by the Public Works Department.

The inconvenience resulting from the separation of the town from the station by the River Surma is obviously considerable, but as I am told that to bridge the river would cost no less than 30 lakhs, it is obvious that for the present at any rate any such scheme is beyond the field of practical politics.

In conclusion, I thank you again for your cordial welcome and I offer you my sympathy and good wishes in your efforts to perform your duty to the rate-payers and to render your Municipality a model of what a Municipality should be.

**SYLHET ANJUMAN-I-ISLAMIA ADDRESS.**

His Excellency and Staff arrived at Sylhet on the morning of the 4th November. An address of welcome was presented to His Excellency on the 4th November 1920.



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*Sylhet Anjuman-i-Islamia Address.*

Excellency by the Sylhet Anjuman-i-Islamia to which His Excellency replied :—

I have listened with interest to your address and I thank you cordially for the welcome you have accorded me.

I appreciate your reference to the efforts made by my Government to put before the Peace Conference the views of Indian Muslims on the subject of the Peace Terms with Turkey. I appreciate it the more as our efforts have not received in all quarters the recognition which I think they have deserved. I also value this expression of your confidence in British justice. In my message to the Muslim people of India on the announcement of the terms on the 15th May, I said that some of the terms must inevitably be painful to Indian Mahomedans, and I gave them a message of encouragement and sympathy. Even after that date I sent to the Secretary of State a personal message which I hoped might influence the terms before their final ratification. But the terms have now been accepted by Turkey and signed by the Turkish plenipotentiaries. In such circumstances it is beyond the power of my Government to intervene at the present moment in order to secure their revision, though you may rest assured that in everything affecting the welfare of Turkey and the status of the *Khalifa*, the influence of India will always be thrown strongly in the direction which is most desired by its seven crores of Muslim subjects. For the present we can best help Turkey if we encourage and assist her to rebuild on her ancient foundations. The core of the Turkish Empire, the territory inhabited by men of Turkish race, is intact, her finances have not been burdened with any share of the reparation debt which has been cast upon her late allies, and

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*Sylhet Anjuman-i-Islamia Address.*

around her the future—we hope the early future—will behold a ring of Muslim States, independent but friendly, with whom she will be able to enter into most intimate and cordial relations. I urge you therefore to bear with patience and resignation the present misfortune of your Turkish co-religionists, strong in the belief that a new Turkey will emerge a pillar of the Islamic faith and bound, as in the past, by ties of close friendship to Great Britain. Here in India, in this valley of Sylhet you have before you, under the ægis of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, a bright future of political progress, of material prosperity and, as always, of the fullest religious freedom.

I must also thank you for the terms in which you have referred to my part in the drafting of the new Reforms Scheme. Although I regret that I shall have left India soon after the inauguration of the reformed Councils, the success of the new form of Government will always be a matter of deep interest to me. It is my earnest hope that the years to come may bring prosperity and happiness in ever-increasing measure to the people of this great land.

Your remarks on the subject of education show that you are alive to the paramount importance of this subject. It is indeed through education that communities and races progress, and if your community has in the past suffered under the imputation of being less advanced than others, I am confident that an increased interest in the education of the rising generation will soon fit you and your children to play a worthy part as good citizens of the Empire. Your efforts in this direction and particularly your ambitions for the success of the Sylhet Madrasa have my warmest sympathy and will,

*Sylhet Anjuman-i-Islamia Address.*

I am sure, receive every encouragement from the Minister of Education who will shortly be appointed.

I have been informed that the Government of Assam are already pledged to rebuild the Murarichand College and to maintain it as a fully equipped first-grade College. This is a concrete proof of the interest of the Local Government in the welfare of your community and an earnest of further developments which I trust will follow. I hope to hear in the future that this College has grown into a separate University, but any such advance must come in response to a clearly expressed wish on the part of the people of the Surma Valley—a wish which should be backed by a practical scheme for its realisation.

In connection with this address I may mention that I received a communication from certain gentlemen of your community that they were in disagreement with the address and they asked me to refuse to accept it on that account.

I could not do this because I should have been guilty thereby of a grave discourtesy to you, gentlemen, but I have of course made a note of the fact that there were some who would have preferred not to present me with an address.

Perhaps you will pardon me then if I address a few words to our absent friends on the subject of non-co-operation.

This movement is one directed against the Government. Let me, however, point out how it has worked and who are the sufferers by it. This is all the more advisable because in view of the approaching transfer of responsibility to the Indian people, it is well that the people should begin to learn to judge for themselves the results of certain courses of action, and pass their considered judgment upon them.

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*Sylhet Anjuman-i-Islamia Address.*

It is not so long ago that as part of this movement Moslems were urged to leave India and migrate to Afghanistan. The Government were careful to point out the danger to the individuals concerned of this course and urged reconsideration. But all in vain and several thousands left India through the Khyber Pass. The Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, Sir H. Grant, saw to it that every facility was given within British territory. I ask our friends to ponder over what happened. Within a few weeks many thousands of them were straggling back, having realised by bitter experience their own folly and the wisdom of the advice tendered to them by Government, and on their return they found Sir H. Grant equally solicitous to help them and reinstate them so far as possible in the positions which they had given up.

But alas! there were many whom he could not reinstate. Their graves mark the course of the unfortunate journey which they had undertaken.

I ask our friends to think who were the people who suffered through this movement.

Let me cite another instance. Lately action, with which you are familiar, has been taken with regard to the Mahomedan College at Aligarh—not a Government College, but founded many years ago for the educational uplift of Moslems by an eminent Mahomedan, whose name is still revered by your community. The Government have always taken the greatest interest in the college, have aided it by grants of money and have lately, with the sole end in view of improving the education of Moslems, passed an Act to convert it into a Moslem University.

## ADDRESSES FROM GOSSAINS OF ASSAM.

I will not dilate on what has been done. You have read it for yourselves in the Press. But I ask our friends again to think who are the sufferers by this action? Poor Moslem boys whose education has been disturbed and perhaps wrecked.

If there is one thing more than another about which Moslems are keen at the present moment it is I believe the educational advancement of their community. Could there be a more deadly blow aimed at this than the action taken recently at Aligarh? I confidently appeal then to all thinking Mahomedans to rally round their educational institutions and repudiate this policy of non-co-operation which can only retard and check the advance of their own community.

Once more, in conclusion, let me thank you for your welcome and offer you my heartiest good wishes for your welfare and happiness.

## ADDRESSES FROM GOSSAINS OF ASSAM.

7th November 1920. Addresses of welcome by the Adhikar Goswamis of the Aniat Dakhinpat Garamur and Kuruabahi Satras and by Sri Sri Purnamanda Adhikar Goswamy of the Bengnaate Satra were presented to His Excellency the Viceroy at Kamalabari on the 7th November 1920 and in reply His Excellency said :—

It has been a real pleasure to me that on this, my first, visit to Assam I have been able to come to the historic Majuli and there to meet the great Vaishnavite abbots with their monks, their disciples, their tenants, and their friends. I feel that I am now in the real heart of old Assam, and I am indeed touched by the warmth of the loyal welcome which

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*Addresses from Gossains of Assam.*

I have received. The kindly feelings which exist to-day between the British rulers and the Majuli abbots have their root in past centuries. Assam is now, and always has been, a deeply religious province. A few days ago it was my privilege to visit the shrine of the Mahomedan preacher Shah Jalal in the town of Sylhet and to see for myself the devotion and the piety of the followers of that great Islamic saint. To-day I am on Hindu ground. About 450 years ago a wave of Vaishnavite reforms passed over India, and nowhere was the movement stronger and deeper than in Assam. The great leader Sri-Chaitanya was born in the Surma Valley, the equally great leader Sankar Deb in the Brahmaputra Valley. To-day, the followers of these holy men are numbered by millions throughout India. The monasteries on this island are an enduring record of the great movement. It is difficult to exaggerate the good which has been done in the past, and which is being done to-day, by the abbots of the Majuli. Their work has always been on the side of kindness, purity, toleration, loyalty, and sweet reasonableness. It is now about 250 years ago that the great Ahom Rudra Singh publicly declared himself as a disciple of the Aniat Gossain. From that day to this the relationship between the abbots on the one hand and the Ahom Kings and their British successors on the other has been of the most cordial and kindly nature. It has been the privilege and pleasure of the British rulers not only to confirm and perpetuate the grants of land, either revenue-free or at concessional rates, which were made to the abbots by the pious kings of old, but to afford special protection to the abbots and their disciples in all times of trouble and invasion. The abbots on their part have always been to the force in

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placing all their material resources—elephants, man-power, boats, and supplies—at the disposal of the British Government whenever frontier expeditions or other emergencies made a call upon the loyalty of its subjects. And apart from this material help the moral help of the good abbots has always been very great. They have been unswervingly on the side of law and order and quiet good citizenship. Both by their example and by their precept the abbots of the Majuli have made the people of the Brahmaputra Valley what they are to day,—one of the most peaceable, loveable races in India, nature's true gentlemen. We are now passing through anxious times of political change. The air is ringing with party battle-cries, and the wildest mutual recriminations. It is therefore good and pleasant that on this quiet Sunday afternoon I have been able to get away from the turmoil and to meet the abbots and their disciples in these beautiful surroundings and to assure them that the friendship of centuries still stands firm. In the future as in the past let us work together, each in our own way, for the peace and the happiness of India. Once more I thank you all and wish you Godspeed.

## STATE BANQUET AT JODHPUR.

20th November 1920. His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur entertained Their Excellencies to a banquet on the night of the 20th November and addressed the company as follows:—

*Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—On behalf of my State and people I am proud to offer to Your Excellency and Lady Chelmsford a hearty welcome to Jodhpur. I am glad that Your Excellency has

*State Banquet at Jodhpur.*

found time before leaving India to visit my State and I can only regret that the onerous duties of your high office do not permit you to stay here longer. Though not endowed by nature with striking scenery and though it has no buildings to compare with those which Your Excellency will have seen elsewhere, Jodhpur has attractions of its own and I trust that Your Excellency will enjoy your visit and will carry away with you pleasant memories of my State and people. Under the able and sympathetic guidance of my guardian Colonel Waddington I am now completing my studies at the Mayo College. I take this opportunity of thanking Your Excellency for the solicitude you have always displayed for the welfare of my State; the administration of which you have entrusted to a Council presided over by my dear greatuncle His Highness Maharaja Partap Singh. His splendid record of service to Marwar is known to all. I am sure that under the Council's fostering care every endeavour will be made to develop the resources of my State and to promote the happiness and welfare of my people. I deem it fortunate that the administration also possesses advisers so capable and experienced as Mr. Holland, Your Excellency's Agent in Rajputana, and Mr. Reynolds, the Resident.

It has been some consolation for Your Excellency's short visit that Lady Chelmsford has been able to honour Jodhpur with her presence for a longer period. The measures which Her Excellency has initiated for the alleviation of human suffering and her efforts to improve the conditions of life for the women and children of India are known to all and though Rajputana is not quickly receptive of new ideas I have no doubt that Marwar, in common with the rest of India, will benefit thereby and remember Her Excellency's name with gratitude and affection.

Ladies and gentlemen, I now ask you to join me in drinking the health of our illustrious guests, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Chelmsford.

The Viceroy replied as follows :—

*Your Highness, Maharaja Sir Partap Singh, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I thank Your Highness most heartily for the very



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kind terms in which you have proposed my health this evening. I need not assure you how much I appreciate the very cordial welcome which Your Highness and the nobles and people of Marwar have extended to Lady Chelmsford and myself on our arrival at Jodhpur.

It was with great regret that I was compelled to abandon my proposed visit in 1917, and I should have been deeply disappointed if anything had occurred to prevent me before leaving India from becoming personally acquainted with a State which has played such a prominent part in the history of Rajputana.

The Rulers and people of Jodhpur, the premier Rathor State, have ever been distinguished for their unswerving loyalty and devotion to the Crown, and I am glad to have this opportunity of congratulating the Durbar on the signal services rendered during the war both in men, money, and other contributions. No appeal, whether to His late Highness Maharaja Sir Sumer Singh, whose untimely death we all deplore, or to the Council of Regency, was made in vain. The Jodhpur Imperial Service Lancers spent no less than five years of distinguished service at the front and by their exploits at Haifa and in the Jordan Valley recalled the deeds of their ancestors who fought at Tonga, Merta, and Patan. The reputation which they have gained is well worthy of the glorious annals of Marwar. It would be invidious for me to single out individuals for special eulogy, but I may be permitted to pay a tribute to the dead and to mention the name of Major Thakur Dalpat Singh, M.C., who met a soldier's death at Haifa while charging at the head of the regiment.

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As these stirring deeds fade into the past and the horrors of war grow dim, let us not forget the great debt we owe to those who fought and died for the great cause. It is our sacred duty to see that their families are relieved from suffering and distress. I trust that the Marwar Soldiers' Board will continue to see that this duty is well and faithfully discharged. I am confident that the welfare of those who went on active service whether in the Jodhpur Lancers or in the Indian Army will ever be an object of care and solicitude to the Rulers of Jodhpur.

Since the autumn of 1918 the administration of the Jodhpur State has been in the hands of a Council of Regency presided over by His Highness Maharaja Sir Partap Singh. It has fallen to the lot of few men to be associated with the administration of a State for so many years as His Highness the Maharaja Regent, and to his ability and untiring energy, the high reputation and present prosperity of the State are largely due. When a historian in the future carries on the story so ably commenced by Colonel Tod and records the modern annals of Rajasthan, the name of Sir Partap—I believe that is the name by which he prefers to be known—will figure prominently in its pages.

I am aware that it is not possible or desirable during a period of Regency to effect any drastic changes in the traditional forms of government. A Ruling Prince, if he is wise, will seek to harmonise his administration with the changing spirit of the times. He will endeavour while paying due regard to the customs of his forefathers to make his rule more responsible to public opinion than heretofore and to satisfy himself that the welfare of the many is not being

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sacrificed to the privileges and pleasure of the few. But while it is not possible during a minority to make great changes in the form of the administration, much can be done to create an atmosphere of sympathy and mutual good feeling by taking the public into confidence so far as possible and by providing adequate means for the ventilation of grievances and for their speedy redress when found to be just. The good-will of a people may be alienated by a Government which in its desire for efficiency rides roughshod over their customs and their prejudices, but the misrule resulting from the inefficiency which intrigue, favouritism, and corruption breed is an evil no less dangerous.

Sometimes there is a tendency to concentrate too much attention in the Capital and its surroundings and to pay too little heed to the welfare and interest of the cultivating population. I have therefore heard with pleasure that the Council have decided to revise the revenue settlement, and that they have obtained the services of an experienced officer for that purpose. This is a wise resolve which will, I trust, bring the administration into close touch with the rural population, their needs and aspirations.

In Marwar with its scarcity of fuel and water the conditions which make for success in industrial undertaking are lacking, but there is, I am convinced, a wide field for agricultural development. I believe that no serious attempt has ever been made to grapple with the problem. Yet in a land so liable to recurring famines as Marwar, any measures calculated to increase the productivity of the soil and area under cultivation must be of paramount importance. Money spent on experiments and on scientifically conducted demonstration

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farms would, I feel sure, be well spent. The Government of India will, should the Durbar require it, be always ready to help them with expert advice. Horse and cattle-breeding too are well worthy of your attention. In the Marwari horse you possess a breed which equals, if it does not surpass, any of the indigenous breeds in India ; while I need only mention the famous Nagore and Mallani breeds of cattle to show how rich are your pastoral resources. I understand that an attempt is now being made to improve the breed of horses in the State and to develop the pure Marwari type. I wish you all success in this wise endeavour, and I trust that you will find it possible also to adopt measures for the development of cattle and sheep-breeding.

The experiments which are now being made to supplement the water-supply of Jodhpur which depends entirely on the monsoon will, I feel sure, be welcomed by the public of Jodhpur. The importance of a plentiful and assured water-supply in this tract of precarious rainfall cannot be over-estimated. It will be the more essential when, as the result of the progressive policy in railway matters which has always characterised this Durbar, Jodhpur becomes an important junction on the Karachi-Agra broad-gauge line.

Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen, I trust I have not trespassed too long on your patience. The importance and interest of my theme must be my excuse. It now only remains for me to offer to His Highness Maharaja Umed Singh my very best wishes for a long and prosperous career. Your Highness, I have heard with great pleasure of the progress which you are making at the Mayo College. My earnest advice to you is to make the very best use you can of the time

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that remains to you before you are called upon to take upon your shoulders the arduous duty of administering so large and important a State as Jodhpur. The harder Your Highness works now and the more knowledge you acquire, the easier will be your task and the brighter the prospect of your performing it with success. Believe me, it will require all the prudence and fortitude which you can command.

Though I shall have left India before Your Highness assumes the powers of Government, I shall watch your future career with anxious interest.

Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of His Highness Maharaja Umed Singh coupled with the name of that loyal and gallant veteran His Highness Maharaja Sir Partap Singh.

## STATE BANQUET AT BIKANER.

29th November 1920.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner gave a State Banquet on the 29th November 1920 in honour of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's State visit to Bikaner.

In proposing the health of his guests His Highness said :—

*Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—On rising to propose the health of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford, it is, I trust, unnecessary for me to give expression to our gratification at the honour done to me and my people by the visit to our State of the illustrious Representative in India of our beloved King-Emperor or to the pleasure we feel in extending a warm welcome to Their Excellencies. Three years ago we were looking forward to a similar visit which, however, had subsequently to be abandoned owing to the urgent calls upon

*State Banquet at Bikaner.*

His Excellency's time to formulate, in conjunction with the Secretary of State for India, a scheme for the welcome reforms which are about to be inaugurated and in connection with which His Excellency's name will ever be gratefully associated by India, including the Indian States and their Rulers, and His Excellency and Mr. Montagu were only able to pay us an informal visit of some 27 hours' duration. In the year following another State visit had been arranged, but that too was unfortunately interfered with by the terrible epidemic of influenza rampant at the time throughout the country, and, as it happened, on the very day, the 18th November 1918, on which they were to have arrived in Bikaner I was taking my leave of Their Excellencies in Delhi on the eve of my departure for Europe at short notice to take part in the Peace Conference.

2. The abandonment of Your Excellency's visit in 1918 was particularly disappointing also because that year marked the centenary of the conclusion of the Treaty between the British Government and the Bikaner State and I was anxious to have an opportunity of expressing to Your Excellency in person, on behalf of myself, my House and my State, our gratitude for the era of unparalleled peace and prosperity and uninterrupted development which, thanks to the gracious favour of the British Crown and the sympathetic assistance of successive Viceroys and the British Government, my State and subjects have enjoyed during these hundred years, and which we earnestly trust will be equally vouchsafed to us in the future as in the past.

3. In the circumstances the pleasure we feel on this occasion is all the greater. And it is further enhanced by the presence in our midst of Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford, whose personal activities in regard to maternity and child welfare and in other directions, no less than the fact of her establishing a record through her proficiency in the Hindustani language—gained so soon after her arrival in India—are a standing testimony of her interest in the well-being of the people of India. Her Excellency's name will also recall grateful and pleasant memories of the courteous and generous hospitality which many of us have received during the past five years as guests on various occasions at the Viceregal Lodges in Simla and Delhi.

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4. It is exactly eight years ago, and one day over, that I had the privilege of entertaining my esteemed and valued friend Lord Hardinge at a similar function in this very Hall. Much water has since flowed under the bridges and little did we then realise how soon afterwards the peace of the entire world was to be so rudely disturbed by Prussian militarist greed and lust for world-domination. The embers of the recent great conflagration are still smouldering and the countries affected by this wanton aggression are still feeling, in several directions and in an unprecedented degree, the after-effects of this world upheaval and of the various forces then let loose. That the noble action of Great Britain in coming into this titanic struggle and fighting for its pledged word—which our recent enemies regarded as a mere scrap of paper—and for the principles of liberty and justice should have particularly appealed to the East, with its hoary civilisation, goes without saying. When the fate of freedom hung in the balance the wonderful example of devotion to duty set by Their Imperial Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress and the Imperial Family spurred all parts of the Empire to increased activity and determination; and the important contribution of the British Armies towards Victory and—what we all earnestly hope may ultimately prove to be a lasting—Peace, in which India has fully borne her share, has thrilled us with pride and hope. To us Rajputs there is no greater glory than to fight and die in the service of our gracious Emperor and we of Bikaner, in common with other Indian States and their Rulers, have once again endeavoured to contribute our humble quota. With the proverbial loyalty of the princely Houses and States of India and with the traditions and achievements of my own House and State, dating back to the times of the Moghal Emperors, and with the record of the services rendered during the past century to the British Crown in the Munity, the Sikh and Afghan Wars and the more recent China and Somaliland Campaigns, our task was no light one. The resources of the Bikaner State are infinitesimal compared with those of the mighty British Empire and I do not wish to weary Your Excellency with a recital of the details of our services in the War. But there is one thing I can venture emphatically to repeat to-day and that is that nowhere will His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor find greater loyalty or more genuine devotion and attachment

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to His Throne and Person than is to be found in Bikaner. And if I might venture to strike a personal note I would add that whilst I have endeavoured to find solace in the lines from Milton which Your Excellency was so kind as to quote when referring to me in your speech at the Mayo College, Ajmer, four years ago—"They also serve who only stand and wait"—it cannot but remain a source of great disappointment to me that I was not able to render longer personal service to my Emperor during the War. I had, as Your Excellency is aware, to return on leave from active service to Bikaner on account of the serious illness of my elder daughter which ended in her lamented demise—a bitter grief which even the lapse of time has not healed. I was subsequently unable to go back to the Western Front on account of my own illness and afterwards I remained on in India in accordance with the express wishes of Lord Hardinge and Your Excellency. My elder son also shares with me the personal disappointment. For although His Imperial Majesty was graciously pleased to confer upon him in August 1918 an Honorary Commission of a Lieutenant in the British Army, he was, owing to the conclusion of the Armistice, unable to see the fulfilment of his long-cherished desire of proceeding on active service, with the 141st Bikaner Infantry to which he was attached. Opportunities for War Services, whether of a personal nature in the field or for our troops, are also under the present conditions not so frequent nor the scope in some ways so wide as in olden days. At the same time I rejoice at the unique opportunities offered to me of rendering, in other directions not unconnected with the War, some further service to our Emperor and to India by the part which I was privileged to take in the Sessions of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference in 1917 and at the Peace Conference in 1918-19 in which connection I shall ever remain deeply indebted to Your Excellency.

6. It is most gratifying to think that the whole question connected with the Forces maintained by the States for the service of the King-Emperor is receiving the favourable and sympathetic consideration of Your Excellency and of His Majesty's Government. In this connection the Princes were placed under a further debt of gratitude to the Hon'ble



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Mr. Holland for the great assistance and sympathy they received from him last year in Delhi, and we are delighted to see him back in India after a well-earned leave and rest. Whilst on the subject, might I also add, how very pleased we all are to see amongst us again, as Inspector-General of our Imperial Service Troops, our old friend, Major-General Sir Harry Watson, who has won fresh laurels during the Great War and who has been associated with Bikaner now for about a quarter of a century. We also deeply regret the impending retirement of Lieutenant-Colonel Rawlins, another old friend of ours, who, during his long connection with Bikaner, has won our gratitude and regard. All who have the best interests of the Indian States at heart will earnestly hope that the most important question of the reorganization of our troops will be settled in the direction we all desire and in such a manner as will contribute to increased mutual benefits from the Imperial as well as the States' standpoint and form another prominent landmark of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty.

7. But, Your Excellency, the principal events which to the Princes and people of the Indian States will render memorable your Viceroyalty and which will secure their deep gratitude will be the institution of the Chamber of Princes and the other no less important reforms relating to the Princes and States. The fact that the Chamber will not be opened in person by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has naturally caused disappointment to the Ruling Princes, but it is a matter of satisfaction to us all that the inauguration ceremony will be performed in February next by another illustrious member of the Imperial Family, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who holds a very high place in the esteem and the affection of the Princes and people of India.

8. Bikaner shares with the rest of the country the disappointment caused by the unavoidable postponement of the Royal Tour, and we all pray that the Prince will soon be restored to perfect health after his arduous but wonderfully successful tour through other parts of His Imperial Majesty's Dominions and that His Royal Highness will be able to pay a visit to India and to honour Bikaner next year.

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9. I do not propose to take up any time to-night by referring to details connected with our efforts for the advancement of the State and the people covering a period now of nearly a quarter of a century, especially as I have already presented a Note to Your Excellency, prepared in my Secretariat, giving certain facts and figures. But might I be permitted on this occasion to tender to Your Excellency in person the most grateful thanks of myself and my Government as well as of my subjects for the great help and support extended by the British Government and their high officers to the Bikaner State in regard to the Sutlej Canal Project, which has now happily reached the final stage of settlement and which, it is fervently hoped, will in the near future turn an extensive tract of the State, barren but fertile, into a smiling garden. We are also grateful for the help given us in regard to our important railway extension projects which we trust we may be enabled to take in hand at an early date and which will open up new country badly in need of railway facilities and develop very considerably the resources of the State and the people.

10. I would also take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of indebtedness to my cousin, Maharaj Sri Sir Bhairun Singhji Bahadur, and my other Ministers and the various officers of the State, without whose loyal co-operation and valuable services it would have been impossible for us to achieve even what little we have done. I trust I may also be allowed to refer to the important step which I took a little while ago, *viz.*, the appointment of my elder son and heir as my Chief Minister and President of my Cabinet and Council. In doing so I was also actuated by the desire to bring my family into still closer touch with my subjects, and to promote still further the welfare of my State and people. And I am happy to be able to tell Your Excellency that my hopes and expectations are already being substantially realised and that the Maharaj Kumar has by his zeal considerably lightened my personal burden of work and anxiety.

11. Your Excellency, before resuming my seat, I feel it my plain duty to refer to a topic of the utmost importance to all concerned, however reluctant I may be to do so on a felicitous occasion like this. It ought not to be necessary for me to preface my remarks by inviting

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attention to the important principle openly enunciated on more than one occasion by the Princes of India—a principle endorsed by Your Excellency and the Imperial Government—that they have no desire to encroach upon the domestic affairs of British India, just as it stands to reason that we would not tolerate interference in our own affairs on the part of British India. The deep sympathy of the Ruling Princes with the legitimate aspirations of their fellow-countrymen in British India has also in the past been voiced in clear and unmistakable terms on several public and private occasions. Nevertheless, the Princes, in view of their Treaty relations, in view of their large stake in the country, and in view of the very real identity of interests which exists between the British Government and themselves, cannot look with equanimity on the possibility of the spread of doctrines inimical not only to the interests of good government but of the people themselves—doctrines intended to paralyse constituted authority, which some day are also bound directly to affect the Princes' territories. Nobody desires more ardently than the Princes the peaceful progress of their Motherland to full Nationhood, but that goal can assuredly be reached only by the process of evolution and not by revolution, by constitutional means and by the co-operation of the people with the Government and by these methods alone. But the situation with which we are at present face to face in certain directions and certain quarters is bound sooner or later to foment internal trouble—of which Mr. Willoughby's dastardly murder is a clear proof—and to exacerbate racial feeling—both of which have already done incalculable harm to the cause of Indian progress. The existence of such forces and tendencies cannot but be a source of the profoundest anxiety to all who unite in their loyalty to the Emperor and in their love for India. I need only add in this connection that we have a fairly large Mahomedan population in the State and that the followers of Islam have always received the impartial protection of the law equally with those professing other creeds, and that the utmost cordiality has always governed the relations between the State and its Moslem subjects. I trust, therefore, that I shall not be misunderstood or misrepresented as implying lack of sympathy with the legitimate aspirations and sentiments of my Indian Moslem brethren and their fellow-feeling for their co-religionists outside

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India, sentiments which, together with Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha, I deem it a privilege to have taken an active part in representing at the Peace Conference when our hands were considerably strengthened by the support extended by Your Excellency and the Government of India. I shall also always look back with unalloyed gratification and without a tinge of regret to the opportunities offered to me in 1917 and again in 1918-19 of rendering, to the best of my judgment and ability, some small patriotic service in furthering the cause of India towards full responsible government. But just as I did not hesitate to speak out when the forces of reaction were gathering strength and attempting to wreck the noble policy of Your Excellency, the Secretary of State and His Majesty's Government, I do not hesitate to-day, when India stands at the parting of the ways, to give expression to my firm conviction, for what it may be worth, that certain extreme measures now being advocated cannot be for the good of the Indian Moslem Community or for the advancement of the people generally and that they are fraught with the gravest danger and disaster to the entire country and to its teeming millions. Whither such movements and tendencies may lead and what practical effect they may ultimately have on India as a whole it would be rash to predict, but it is certainly not difficult to realise the great harm and suffering that must ensue as a consequence—especially to the youth of the country and to the poor and the ignorant. At a time when India has to make the most of the opportunities now open to her, moderation, restraint and goodwill are more essential than ever, and when it is not such a remote possibility that India may be threatened, directly or indirectly, from without, whether through Bolshevism or otherwise, it is no less incumbent upon all in India to present a united front and, irrespective of all other considerations, it clearly behoves us whose lot is cast in this country, Princes or people, Europeans or Indians, loyally to bring the whole weight of our influence to bear on the side of law and order and established authority. Sir, in the circumstances, speaking for myself, and my State and people, I would beg to assure Your Excellency of our loyal support and co-operation in dealing with any disloyal movement that may aim at the subversion of our King-Emperor's sway in India or with any suicidal attempt to weaken India's connection with Great

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Britain—of the inestimable advantages of which I, in common with the vast majority of my fellow-countrymen, have always been a firm believer—and I am confident that the Imperial Government will find all the Princes and States ranged solid on their side in regard to any such grave dangers which we may have to face.

12. Ladies and gentlemen, I will now ask you to join me in drinking to the health and happiness of my distinguished guests, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford.

His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows :—

*Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—The hospitality of Bikaner is proverbial ; and visitors here are so numerous that expressions of gratitude tend to lose their force by frequent repetition. But in thanking Your Highness for the very kind terms in which you have proposed the health of Lady Chelmsford and myself I have good reason for making something more than a formal acknowledgment. For Your Highness has been kind enough to invite me repeatedly to Bikaner and this my second but first official visit will be much longer than those I am usually able to make to an Indian State. Although six days of it have already passed, it is, I am glad to say, not yet over. In Bikaner the days fly fast and I can hardly believe that nearly a week has passed since we arrived here. To-morrow, however, my regret at saying farewell to your splendid old city will be lightened by the prospect of a tour to the outlying districts of your State.

The well-worn topic of the flight of time naturally recalls the last occasion on which I was Your Highness' guest in Bikaner in the cold weather of 1917. Into the three years which have passed since then have been crowded events of an importance we can as yet hardly estimate. The crucial struggle of the war was then impending, and though we awaited the

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result with confidence the knowledge of the price to be paid for victory had cast its shadow over the Empire. To-day when the price has been paid in full and we are free from the menace of external foes we find ourselves faced with the problems of peace—very different indeed in kind, but hardly less momentous than those of war.

On this period of the Empire's need Your Highness can look back both as a Ruler and a man with the consciousness of services unsparingly rendered and fully appreciated. As a Ruler you can claim that your offer, made at the outbreak of war, of the whole resources of your State has been proved by the services of your Imperial Service Troops, by the supply of recruits from Bikaner to the Regular Army, and by generous contributions to the War Funds, to have been no empty form of words. As a man you can recall the privilege of serving in France and Egypt, and I know with what eagerness you would have returned to the Front for further duty had not the public interest made your stay in India imperative. Your Highness' services were fittingly recognised when you received the high honour of selection as one of the Indian Signatories of the Peace Treaty.

The fact that, in spite of Your Highness' absence and of the heavy calls made on the resources of your State, the administration continued to be carried on smoothly and efficiently testifies, as Your Highness has generously acknowledged, to the loyalty and ability of your ministers and officials. It proves also that capacity of judging men and of securing their devotion which are not the least of Your Highness' gifts as a Ruler. During the last three years, however, as you have told us, the State has not merely been standing still awaiting the return of

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peace conditions ; many improvements have been carried out and marked progress made. In particular I would mention the personal interest taken by Your Highness in the great Sutlej Canal Project, in which I also have taken a keen interest, and which I am glad to say now seems likely to be carried through. It should do much for your State. If outside your State Your Highness is best known for your services to the Empire, your own subjects will in time to come perhaps remember you best as the Maharaja who brought the Sutlej water to their land.

Your Highness' energies, however, since your return from Europe have not been confined to Bikaner affairs. In all matters affecting your Order, and in particular in the important task of constituting the Chamber of Princes I have gratefully to acknowledge your constant help and advice. I am reminded of a serious omission in this impressive list of Your Highness' activities by a ghostly whisper from the spirit of your hundredth tiger that you are no believer in the doctrine of all work and no play.

But I must beware of what we are told is the Rajput tendency to dwell on the memory of the years that are past. Whether that is a failing or no, the problems of India's future are such as to absorb our whole attention. The Government of India realise the truth of Your Highness' assurance that they can always amid the difficulties of the present time rely upon the loyal support of Bikaner. Perhaps during the strain of war some of us fondly hoped that with the coming of peace all internal discord would be swept away and that the problems of statesmanship would be simplified by a survival of that

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devotion and self-sacrifice which the war had called forth. But looking around us to-day we see that the impulse given by the war to the spirit of democracy has resulted in perversions of that spirit and in excesses which threaten the very foundations of society and stable government. Disappointment of our expectations need not, however, lead to pessimism. History should have taught us that international war is inevitably followed by social unrest and that after a war of such magnitude as the last the resulting upheaval would be of dimensions unknown before. History shows too that such disturbances pass; not indeed without leaving a trace, but at least without wrecking the cause of human progress. The fatalism of the old Persian motto "This too will pass" has a message of hope as well as of despair. But the coming of peace gives no claim to idleness; for the present stage of political development in India calls more insistently than ever before for leaders endowed with a sense of proportion and mental balance. There is no lack of patriotic enthusiasm among the champions of Indian progress, but one looks too often in vain for the sanity of judgment required for true leadership. This is a quality which comes to few by nature and can rarely be attained except through practical experience in administration. There is thus a great obligation resting on the Ruling Princes who possess such experience to guide their fellow-countrymen in the path of self-government by reminding them that duties to the State exist as well as rights of the individual, that liberty does not mean license, and that firm government and not anarchy is the true condition of progress. One result of the war is to show that political isolation, whether of nations, or of communities within a nation, will in the future be impossible. Not through any deliberate act of Government but by the inevitable law of progress the



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peoples of the Indian States will be drawn into ever closer contact with those of British India. The effect of this tendency will be on the one hand a greater opportunity for the Indian Princes to take their place as the natural leaders of the people and on the other a growing public demand for the application of the principles of progress to the Government of the Indian States. However we may be tempted to regret the passing of much that is picturesque and attractive in the old-world isolation of the Rajputana States, no wise ruler will shut his eyes to the logic of facts or fail to prepare for what is surely coming. Fortunate is the State where the administration has nothing to fear from public scrutiny and where changes come as a gradual development from within and not by an unwilling surrender to the superior force of public opinion. This can only be the case where the advance of inevitable change is met, not in a spirit of sullen and futile opposition but with sympathy and foresight. In the Representative Assembly Your Highness has given to the people of Bikaner the opportunity of enquiring into and learning details of State policy, and if they do not control that policy, they at any rate feel it is not concealed from them. Your Highness has seen what, in the enthusiasm for self-government, is too often overlooked, the necessity of hastening slowly, and that like all other arts that of government requires to be learnt. From this institution wisely directed as it has been wisely begun may develop the actual association of the people of Bikaner in the government of their State—an association which I am confident will be a source not of weakness but of strength to the Ruling House. The future of States, however, depends on men as well as on institutions. That of Bikaner we are glad to think will rest largely in the hands of our friend the Maharaaj

*Opening of the Sanitary, Scientific and Indigenous Drugs Exhibition held under the auspices of the Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Association, Delhi.*

Kumar. The State owes Your Highness a debt of gratitude for the constant care given to the education of its future Ruler and above all for the training he is now receiving in the actual work of government. Under your guidance, of which we all hope and trust he will have the advantage for many years to come, he has an opportunity, such as comes to few, of fitting himself for the great work that lies before him. I congratulate him most heartily on the attainment of his majority and wish him a long career of happiness and usefulness. I have spoken much on the subject of change—an uncomfortable topic at the best—and in closing I would turn to those characteristics of Bikaner which we can assure ourselves will remain the same in years to come. Future Viceroys will find in Bikaner, as I have, a perfection of hospitality to welcome them, a game bird that is no respecter of persons to test their skill, a bracing desert air to rest and refresh them, a harmony between Prince and people, and in the Ruler a valued friend.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of our host His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and to the continued prosperity of his State.

OPENING OF THE SANITARY, SCIENTIFIC AND INDIGENOUS  
DRUGS EXHIBITION HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF  
THE SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS' ASSOCIATION, DELHI.

In opening the above Exhibition at Delhi on the afternoon of the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1920, His Excellency said :—

*Members of the All-India Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Association.*—It has given me much pleasure to accept your invitation to open the Sanitary, Scientific and Indigenous Drugs

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*Opening of the Sanitary, Scientific and Indigenous Drugs Exhibition held under the auspices of the Sub-Assistant Surgeons' Association, Delhi.*

Exhibition which is being held under the auspices of your Association, and Her Excellency asks me to thank you for your invitation to accompany me here.

I was the more pleased to receive the invitation because ever since I have been in India I have been hearing of the good though unobtrusive work done by Sub-Assistant Surgeons. Though your cadre consists of the largest number of medical men in India, the value of your services to your country and fellow-countrymen is perhaps not as widely known as it should be. Your work lies largely in remote parts of this vast country, and is performed chiefly amongst the voiceless masses. And it is no doubt for these reasons that the high character of your services is principally known only to those amongst whom you work and to your immediate superiors. But those in authority, you may rest assured, are in no way unmindful of what the administration and country owe to you. I cannot think of any report on plague, famine or other epidemic which I have read without coming on reference to the good work done by Sub-Assistant Surgeons, and your praises are continually sung to me by those responsible for the medical administration of the country. During the great war you volunteered in large numbers and acquitted yourselves always with credit and often with distinction. Gentlemen, you have a fine record behind you and I can only exhort you to go forward and add to it.

I am told that your Association was formed 15 years ago and that it has more than justified the hopes of its founders. I am glad that this is the case, although it was to be expected. And under wise direction your annual conferences cannot but

*Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes, Delhi.*

be productive of great good. Not only do they go to promote *esprit de corps* in a fine service, but they enable men who have been working in secluded parts of the country to come together and exchange ideas and experience.

Gentlemen, your address of welcome was commendably brief and I will repay your brevity by making my speech as short as possible. I thank you on behalf of myself and Her Excellency very heartily for the cordial reception you have given us to-day, and I have much pleasure now in declaring your Exhibition open. Those who have had the privilege of a private view tell me that it reflects great credit on those responsible for organizing it, particularly having regard to the limited resources at your disposal. The collection of indigenous drugs which you have made should be very instructive, and one section of the Exhibition, that of infant welfare, will appeal very keenly to Her Excellency, who has made a special study of this subject in India and, as you are aware, has organized an association having for its chief object the promotion of infant welfare.

## INAUGURATION OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES, DELHI.

The ceremony of the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes took 8th Feb-  
place in the historic *Divan-i-am* in the Fort at Delhi on the afternoon ruary 1921.  
of the 8th February 1921. His Excellency the Viceroy in inviting  
His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate on behalf  
of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor the Chamber of Princes  
and to declare it to be duly constituted, said :—

*Your Royal Highness, Your Highnesses,*—In the Royal  
Proclamation of the 23rd December 1919, His Imperial Majesty  
the King-Emperor announced his gracious intention to

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*Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes, Delhi.*

send his dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India to inaugurate on his behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new Constitutions in British India. The arduous labours of the Prince in other parts of the Empire, however, necessitated the postponement of his visit to India and His Imperial Majesty has sent in his stead His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who will perform on His Imperial Majesty's behalf the ceremony of inauguration for which we are assembled here to-day.

I feel that I am voicing the sentiments of all present on this occasion when I say that, while we deeply regret the postponement of the Prince's visit and look forward with eager anticipation to his arrival among us next winter, we most cordially welcome the presence among us of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who is well known to the Princes and peoples of India, and whose association with this ceremony is a token of the deep interest taken by the King-Emperor in the welfare of the Indian States.

Before calling upon His Royal Highness to perform the act of inauguration, it is fitting that I, as His Majesty's Viceroy, and as being responsible with the Secretary of State for the proposals in the Joint Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, should say something of the genesis of the Chamber of Princes, its object and significance, the stages of its evolution, and the conditions essential to its success.

The germ of such an assemblage as this must be sought in the events of 1877, when Her late Majesty Queen Victoria assumed the title of "Empress of India" and was acclaimed as such by the great Princes present at the Imperial Assemblage and when Lord Lytton conceived the idea of associating with the High Officers of Government some of the leading

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Princes with the title of "Counsellors of the Empress." The idea was further developed by succeeding Viceroys: Lord Dufferin, who instituted the Imperial Service Troops movement, Lord Curzon and Lord Minto, who propounded a scheme for a Council of Princes, and Lord Hardinge, who consulted the Princes as "trusted colleagues" on various matters affecting their Order. Finally, it was my pleasant privilege on assuming charge of my office, five years ago, to institute a system of annual Conferences of Princes and Chiefs for the discussion, in concert with the officers of my Government, of questions affecting the States as a whole and of common import to them and to the Indian Empire. The success of these informal Conferences soon gave rise to the demand for a permanent institution of a more formal character and a proposal for the creation of such an institution was put forward in the Joint Report of April 1918, and laid before the Princes at the Conference of January 1919, together with certain other proposals in the Report, for their collective opinion. After an animated debate the Conference passed a Resolution warmly approving the establishment of a permanent Council of Princes with the title of *Narendra Mandal* (Chamber of Princes).

Resolutions were also passed at the same Conference approving the appointment of a mixed Committee of Princes and Officers of Government to examine the question of simplifying, standardising, and codifying Political Practice, and of a Standing Committee to advise the Viceroy and the Political Department on matters referred to it by the Viceroy regarding the affairs of Indian States. The proposals in the Report for Courts of Arbitration and Commissions of Enquiry and for the establishment of direct relations between the Government

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of India and the important States—all measures designed with the object of securing uniformity of policy and practice and a method of dealing with difficult and important problems which would command the confidence of the Princes were also generally approved.

The recommendations of the Conference were then placed before the Secretary of State, with whom various details were discussed, and in the next Conference held in November 1919 I was able to propound for Their Highnesses' consideration the general scheme for a Chamber of Princes approved by His Majesty's Government. The Conference, after debating the question, passed a Resolution warmly accepting the scheme and expressing the earnest hope that the Chamber might be brought into existence during the ensuing year.

With this end in view I enlisted the advice and criticism of the Codification Committee of Princes, which had been appointed by the Conference, and with their assistance the drafts of the Constitution of the Chamber, with the first Regulations and Rules of Business, and the draft resolutions concerning Courts of Arbitration and Commissions of Enquiry were moulded into practical shape: and I am glad to say that the drafts finally approved and published represent almost *verbatim* the general policy approved by the Conference on the advice of their Codification Committee.

There is one departure from the recommendations of the Conference which I fear will be a disappointment to some of Your Highnesses, and that is the adoption of a purely English title for the Chamber. As you are aware, I suspended judgment on the proposed title of *Narendra Mandal* pending further enquiry as to the general feeling of the Princes on the subject. That enquiry disclosed a general consensus

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of opinion among the Mahomedan Rulers against a Hindu title and in favour of a purely English designation. This preference was also expressed by some Hindu and Sikh Rulers and it was accordingly decided, after reference to the Secretary of State, to use for the present the English title of "Chamber of Princes" as the sole designation. The question of adopting an Indian title has, however, been included in the agenda for the first meetings of the Chamber and it will be open to Your Highnesses to propose an Indian title or titles which will meet with general acceptance.

Another point on which the published constitution differs from the wording favoured by the Committee of Princes, who were consulted on the subject, is the absolute prohibition of the discussion in the Chamber of the internal affairs of individual States and the actions of individual Rulers. The Princes on the Committee were in favour of allowing such discussion, "provided that the Ruler concerned so desires and the Viceroy consents." His Majesty's Government accepted the view of the Government of India that such a provision might prove embarrassing to the Viceroy and that the practice, if recognised, would be subversive of the principle on which the Constitution of the Chamber is based. It was decided, therefore, that the rule against the discussion of such matters in the Chamber should be absolute and unqualified.

I think that Your Highnesses on reflection will agree that this decision is reasonable and just. The main function of the Chamber is to discuss matters affecting the States generally or of common concern to the States and to British India or the Empire at large. It would, in our opinion, be fatal to the popularity and success of the Chamber if any



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countenance were given to the idea that it might be used for the discussion of private affairs of individual States and Rulers. States which desire that the Viceroy may be in possession of independent and expert advice before deciding matters in dispute either between individual States or between an individual State and Government can have recourse to Courts of Arbitration, where these matters can be examined in the privacy essential to such cases. Commissions of Enquiry provide a similar machinery for dealing with the affairs of individual Rulers.

As regards the question of direct relations between the Government of India and the important States, I may inform you that a recommendation has been made to the Secretary of State for the transfer of the more important States in the Bombay Presidency, according to a scheme prepared by a Special Committee, to be carried into effect at some future date, when the conditions appear to be favourable. A scheme will also shortly be placed before His Majesty's Government for the bringing of the important States of the Punjab into direct relations with the Government of India as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. The Gwalior State will soon be brought into direct touch with the Central Government through a Resident who will be independent of the Central India Agency, and some of the Rajputana States, which were formerly in relations with a local Resident, are now in direct relations with the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana. Other aspects of the question of direct relations are engaging the attention of the Government of India.

Reverting to the question of the Chamber of Princes, Your Highnesses will have received the proposals made by

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*Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes, Delhi.*

the Committee for the representation of lesser States, whose Rulers are not eligible for admission to the Chamber of Princes in their own right. These proposals, which it is hoped to embody in the Regulations before the next session of the Chamber, will be submitted for Your Highnesses' consideration after the inaugural meeting.

I do not propose to describe the details of the Constitution, Regulations and Rules to-day since these documents have been for some time in Your Highnesses' hands, and they represent, in the main, the fruit of your own deliberations, but there are one or two aspects of the scheme on which it is right that I should dwell on this historic occasion. The Chamber of Princes is an advisory and consultative body and has no executive powers. It represents a recognition of the right of the Princes to be consulted in framing the policy of Government relating to the States and to have a voice in the Councils of the Empire ; but the resolutions of the Chamber, though carried by a majority of votes, will be in the nature of advice and will not necessarily be acted on by the Viceroy, who will be bound to take into consideration not only the merits of the particular resolution, but also the views of the opposing minority as well as the opinions of those Princes who happen to be absent from the Chamber. I think it well to call attention to these points because I have heard it said by critics of the Chamber that it will tend to belittle the position and prejudice the rights of the greater States, who may be outvoted by a combination of States of lesser importance. The criticism is, I think, unjustified by the terms of the Constitution and loses sight of the safeguards which I have mentioned.

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*Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes, Delhi.*

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The Constitution of the Chamber has received the approval of His Majesty's Government and has been promulgated by Royal Proclamation; it will be inaugurated to-day by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, on behalf of His Imperial Majesty; it behoves us all to do our utmost to make the scheme a real success, a source of strength to the Empire, an engine of progress and a means of promoting unity and co-operation between the representatives of His Majesty's Government in this country and the Princes and Chiefs of this great Empire.

I do not think that the Chamber is likely to fail in achieving the objects which I have mentioned. Indeed, I am confident that, with good-will on both sides, it will succeed. But there are certain matters to which I feel it my duty to call Your Highnesses' attention.

First, there is the danger that, after the first excitement attending the opening of the Chamber has passed away, interest in its proceedings may evaporate and the attendance of members may dwindle. I look to Your Highnesses to prevent this process. Attendance at the meetings will always be voluntary and no pressure will be applied to those who prefer to stay away. But I trust that, as time goes on, Your Highnesses will realise more and more the importance of maintaining these assemblages as meetings of a truly representative character, and that even those who now stand aloof will in time forego their scruples and lend their influence towards promoting the objects of the Chamber and so strengthening the bonds which bind us together for the common good.

Secondly, there is the possibility which some critics have noted—I only mention it to dismiss it—that the machinery

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of this Chamber might be used solely for the protection of the rights and privileges of the Princes without due regard to the obligations which they owe both to the Empire of which they are a part and to their subjects whose happiness and welfare are dependent upon the wisdom and justice of their Rulers. I do not share these apprehensions ; for here again I confidently look to Your Highnesses to uphold the credit of this institution by adopting both towards the Government and its officers a spirit of co-operation without which our deliberations will be of small avail. We are all members one of another and in our union lies our strength. We share between us the responsibility for the good government of India and for protecting the interests and promoting the happiness of the millions committed to our charge. In the exercise of that responsibility we shall, I am sure, continue to work together in harmony and with mutual respect, inspired by the great ideal of an India governing itself through its Princes and elected representatives and owing allegiance to a common Head.

I now invite His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate on behalf of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor the Chamber of Princes and to declare it to be duly constituted.

His Royal Highness' speech is as follows :—

*Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,*—It is by the command of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor that I meet you to-day. My duty is two-fold : to convey to Your highnesses the personal greetings of His Majesty ; and on his behalf to inaugurate the Chamber of Princes. In his Royal Proclamation the King-Emperor has signified his approval of this new institution, and his hopes for its future. Its origin and

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meaning have just been explained by the Viceroy. I have only one word to add to what His Excellency has said on this subject. An Assembly so unique and so essentially Indian in character should surely not be known only by an English designation. I trust that among the earliest tasks to which Your Highnesses will address yourselves in the Chamber will be that of choosing an appropriate vernacular title which you can unite in recommending to His Majesty the King.

Your Highnesses, of the many ceremonies that it has fallen to my lot to perform, none has given me more pleasure than the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes. Among the Princes here assembled are many with whom I can claim personal friendship of long-standing. I rejoice at the opportunity of renewing their acquaintance and of reviving old bonds of fellowship and regard. No pleasure is so keen as that which we share with old friends. I have the happiness of knowing that my own pleasure in to-day's proceedings finds a counterpart in Your Highnesses' own feelings; and that the function in which it is my privilege to join will stand for all time as a shining landmark in the annals of the Indian States.

We are assembled to-day in the ancient capital of India. This noble hall in which we meet, where the Moghal Emperor surrounded by the splendour of his magnificent Court used to hear the petitions of his people, has been the scene of many imposing ceremonies. It is a fitting stage for the ceremony of to-day. But I stand here at the bidding of an Emperor mightier even than the Moghal; an Emperor whose policy is framed with a breadth of vision unknown to the rulers of past ages; whose acts are inspired, as he himself has declared, by the spirit of trust and sympathy; whose desire it is that

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every breath of suspicion or misunderstanding should be dissipated ; and who now invites Your Highnesses, in the fulness of his confidence, to take a larger share in the political development of your Motherland.

The Princes of India have shown for many years past, and more particularly during the Great War, their devotion to the Crown and their readiness to make any sacrifice for the safety and welfare of the Empire. When most was needed, most was given. His Imperial Majesty has watched with feelings of deep pride and gratitude the part taken by Your Highnesses in the war, the devotion of those who gave personal service in the field, the patriotic zeal of those who sent their troops to the front and furnished recruits for the Indian Army, the lavish generosity of those who helped with money and material. For all these services His Majesty has asked me to convey to Your Highnesses on his behalf a special message of thanks. Loyalty is a tradition with the Indian States. His Majesty knows well that, in good times or evil, he can always count upon the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes. But with the memories of the past six years ever present in his mind he cannot forbear, on this great occasion, from making public acknowledgment of your splendid record of achievement during the greatest struggle in the history of mankind. The help that you gave at the outbreak of the war, when the tale of your deeds and offerings sent a thrill of emotion throughout the British Empire, and your strenuous efforts in the dark days of 1918, when the fate of civilisation seemed to hang in the balance, can only be forgotten with the Empire itself.

I am confident that the same spirit of loyalty and co-operation that Your Highnesses displayed during the war will

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continue to animate you in the years to come. It is in this spirit, as His Majesty has said, that the problems of the future must be faced. It is in this spirit, I do not doubt, that you will approach the questions that will form the subject of your deliberations in the Chamber. Some of the problems that will arise may make demands on your patience and public spirit. Some may depend for their solution upon a fair interpretation of the letter of treaties and engagements between the States and the British Government. If so, I feel sure that a way will be found to reconcile any doubts or differences that may present themselves. The sanctity of the treaties is a cardinal article of Imperial policy. It was affirmed by my beloved mother, the Great Queen Victoria, in her famous Proclamation of 1858. It was re-affirmed by King Edward the Seventh; and His present Majesty, King George the Fifth, has once more announced in his Proclamation his "determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes." Nothing is wanting to mark the solemnity of this time-honoured engagement; and no words of mine are needed to reassure Your Highnesses that the British Government will stand faithfully by its promises. I would only ask you, when you come to discuss any difficult question of practice in your relations with the Government of India or of the interpretation of your treaties, to remember that these pledges will be ever present to the minds of the officers of the British Crown. A generous spirit on your part will find its response in equal generosity on the part of the Government of India. You may rest assured that the Government and its officers will recognise freely the internal sovereignty to which your various treaties and engagements entitle you. We look to the

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Princes of India, on their part, to continue to administer their States with justice and enlightenment. I am confident that we shall not look in vain.

Your Highnesses, it is a sincere pleasure to me to congratulate you on the place that, as a body, you have achieved for yourselves in recent years in the wider Councils of the Empire. You have been represented in the Imperial War Cabinet and at the Imperial Conference. One of your number took part in the Peace Conference of 1919, and his signature is appended to the Treaty of Versailles. More recently another of your Order attended the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva. Your Highnesses, I have witnessed many changes in my life-time. Much of the old order, as I knew it in my youth, has passed away for ever. For all classes the past 50 years have been an era of change, and the Princes of the great Indian States furnish no exception to the general rule. Their conditions of life have been profoundly modified. They have emerged from the seclusion that so long hedged them round and they aspire, and rightly aspire, to play a part in the wider theatre of modern life. I am sure that the part will be a worthy one. The British Government has not been slow to recognise the justice of your aspirations; and I rejoice to think that by my share in to-day's ceremony, I am doing something to promote your wishes and to provide a larger sphere for your public-spirited activities. Increased opportunities, as I need not remind Your Highnesses, bring in their train increased responsibility. I know well that Your Highnesses will appreciate the trust reposed in you by His Imperial Majesty and His Government and will worthily respond, both as pillars of the Empire and as Rulers striving ever for the greater happiness and prosperity of your own subjects.



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I now, on behalf of the King-Emperor, declare the Chamber of Princes to be duly constituted and pray that, under Divine Providence, its proceedings may be so guided and directed as to strengthen the bonds of union between the Princes and the Empire and to promote the well-being of this great land of India and enhance her good name among the nations of the world.

INAUGURATION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, DELHI.

9th February 1921. The inauguration of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly took place in the forenoon of the 9th February at the Imperial Secretariat, Delhi. His Excellency the Viceroy's speech is as follows :—

*Hon'ble Members of the Council of State and Members of the Legislative Assembly*,—I have required your attendance here under Section 63 of the Government of India Act for an important ceremony.

The new Indian Legislature, which is to be opened to-day, is the outcome of the policy announced by His Majesty's Government in August 1917. That announcement has been described as the most momentous utterance in the chequered history of India ; and I believe that it merits that description. But history, as we have learnt to know, is a continuous process. In human affairs, as in nature, there are no absolute beginnings ; and, however great the changes that may be compressed into a few crowded years, they are to the eye of the historian the inevitable consequences of other changes, sometimes but little noticed or understood at the time, which have

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preceded them. Nowhere is this clearer than in the record of British rule in India. The Act of 1919 involved a great and memorable departure from the old system of government. It closed one era and opened another. None the less its most innovating provisions had their germ in measures reaching well back into the last century, and the purpose and spirit which underlay them are those that have throughout guided and inspired the policy of the British in India.

There are those who will dispute this interpretation of the character of British policy. In their eyes the real object of the British Government has always been the retention of all genuine power in its own hands, and every step in the liberalisation of the structure of government has been a concession, tardily and grudgingly yielded, to demands which the Government deemed it impolitic wholly to refuse. I am confident that history will not endorse this charge. The historian of the future will detect in his survey of the achievements of the British in India many an error and shortcoming. But he will also recognise that throughout the years of their rule one increasing purpose has run and he will do justice to the unprecedented character and the colossal magnitude of the task which they set themselves. For no such task was ever attempted by the empires of the past. In these empires either free institutions had never existed or, as in the case of Rome, the growth of empire had proved fatal to such liberties as had previously been enjoyed by the founders of the empire. There were differences doubtless in the forms of local administration and in the personal privileges of the members of the various peoples and races of the State, but such variations in no wise affected the autocratic character of the Central Government. But the destinies of India and Britain became linked

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together at a time when in the latter country self-government had become firmly established, and it has since been the constant aim of the British Government to extend to India the benefits and privileges of her own institutions. Were any specific evidence needed of the truth of this proposition, I would appeal to the historic minute of Lord Macaulay upon the question of the medium of instruction in India. His argument that England could not impart the ideas of the Western world otherwise than in her own language carried with it tremendous consequences. It was familiarity with the literature and thought of English historians and teachers that did more than any other single cause to mould the minds of educated India in a way that inevitably led to a demand for political development that should imitate the model held out to her; for as one of our own poets has said—

“ We must be free who speak

The language Shakespeare spake.”

The difficulties which confronted her in such a task were indeed formidable. The vast area of the country, the number and diversity of its population and the habits and ideas engendered by many centuries of despotic rule were obstacles that might well have seemed insuperable even to the boldest imagination. In dealing with them the methods followed by British statesmen have been those with which the political development of England herself had made them familiar. English self-government was not the fruit of any sudden revolution or catastrophic change, but has been built up gradually, and through centuries of sustained effort. The evolution of British policy in India has pursued a similar course. The British Government has not attempted any

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dazzling and brilliant, but inevitably unstable, reconstructions. It has been content to advance step by step, to adjust its institutions from time to time to the degree of progress obtained by the people and to build up the edifice of constitutional Government on the foundations laid by preceding generations ; so that of India under British rule it might be truly said, as has been said of England herself, that she has been a land " where freedom slowly broadens down, from precedent to precedent."

The history of constitutional developments in India under British rule falls into certain fairly well-defined stages. The first of these may be said to have terminated with the Act of 1861. During this period the British Government were engaged in extending and solidifying their dominions, in evolving order out of the chaos that had supervened on the break up of the Moghal Empire, and introducing a number of great organic reforms such as the improvement of the police and the prisons, the codification of the criminal law, and the establishment of a hierarchy of courts of justice and of a trained civil service. The main achievement of administration was in fact the construction and consolidation of the mechanical framework of the Government. The three separate presidencies were brought under a common system ; British rule was extended over much of the intervening spaces ; and the legislative and administrative authority of the Governor-General in Council was asserted over all the provinces and extended to all the inhabitants ; while at the same time provision was made for local needs and local knowledge by the creation or re-creation of local Councils. And it is significant that in the Act which closed this chapter the principle of associating the people of India with the

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government of the country was definitely recognised. The Councils set up by this Act were still merely legislative committees of the Government, but the right of the public to be heard and the duty of the executive to defend its measures were acknowledged and Indians were given a share in the work of legislation.

The second stage terminated with the Act of 1892. The intervening period had witnessed substantial and many-sided progress. Universities had been established; secondary education had made great strides; and municipal and district boards had been created in the major provinces. A limited but important section of Indian opinion demanded further advance, and the justice of this demand was recognised by the British Government in the Act of 1892. This Act conferred on the Councils the right of asking questions and of discussing the budget; and to this extent admitted that their functions were to be more than purely legislative or advisory. But its most notable innovation was the adoption of the elective principle. It is true that technically all the non-official members continued to be nominated, but inasmuch as the recommendations of the nominating bodies came to be accepted as a matter of course, the fact of election to an appreciable proportion of the non-official seats was firmly established. The Act of 1861 had recognised the need for including an Indian element in the Legislative Councils. The Act of 1892 went further. It recognised in principle the right of the Indian people to choose its own representatives on the Councils.

The third stage will always be associated with the names of Lord Morley and Lord Minto. The experience of the reforms of 1892 had been on the whole favourable. The association of the leaders of the non-official public in the

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management of public affairs had afforded an outlet for natural and legitimate aspirations and some degree of education in the art of government. But the impulses which had led to the reforms of 1892 continued to operate and they were reinforced by external events such as the Russo-Japanese war. Important classes were learning to realise their own position, to estimate for themselves their own capacities and to compare their claims for equality of citizenship with those of the British race. India was in fact developing a national self-consciousness. The Morley-Minto Reforms were a courageous and sincere effort to adjust the structure of the government to these changes. The Legislative Councils were greatly enlarged, the official majority was abandoned in the local Councils; and the principle of election was legally admitted. No less significant were the alterations made in the functions of the Councils. These were now empowered to discuss the budget at length; to propose resolutions on it and to divide upon them; and not only on the budget but in all matters of public importance, resolutions might be moved and divisions taken. It was hoped by the authors that around this constitution conservative sentiment would crystallise, and that for many years no further shifting of the balance of power would be necessary. These anticipations have not been fulfilled; and from the vantage point of our later experience we can now see that this was inevitable. The equilibrium temporarily established was of a kind that could not for long be maintained. The forces which had led to the introduction of these reforms continued to gain in intensity and volume; the demand of educated Indians for a larger share in the government of their country grew year by year more insistent; and this demand could find no adequate satisfaction

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within the framework of the Morley-Minto Constitution. This constitution gave Indians much wider opportunities for the expression of their views, and greatly increased their power of influencing the policy of Government and its administration of public business. But the element of responsibility was entirely lacking. The ultimate decision rested in all cases with the Government and the Councils were left with no functions save that of criticism. The principle of autocracy, though much qualified, was still maintained, and the attempt to blend it with the constitutionalism of the West could but postpone for a short period the need for reconstruction on more radical lines.

Such then was the position with which my Government were confronted in the years 1916-1917. The conclusion at which we arrived was that British policy must seek a new point of departure, a fresh orientation. On the lines of the Morley-Minto Reforms there could be no further advance. That particular line of development had been carried to the furthest limit of which it admitted, and the only further change of which the system was susceptible would have made the legislative and administrative acts of an irremovable executive entirely amenable to elected Councils, and would have resulted in a disastrous deadlock. The executive would have remained responsible for the government of the country but would have lacked the power to secure the measures necessary for the discharge of that responsibility. The solution which finally commended itself to us is embodied in principle in the declaration which His Majesty's Government, in full agreement with us, made in August 1917. By that declaration the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government

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was declared to be the goal towards which the policy of His Majesty's Government was to be directed. The increasing association of the people of India with the work of government had always been the aim of the British Government. In that sense a continuous thread of connection links together the Act of 1861 and the declaration of August 1917. In the last analysis the latter is only the most recent and most memorable manifestation of a tendency that has been operative throughout British rule. But there are changes of degree so great as to be changes of kind, and this is one of them. For the first time the principle of autocracy which had not been wholly discarded in all earlier reforms was definitely abandoned; the conception of the British Government as a benevolent despotism was finally renounced; and in its place was substituted that of a guiding authority whose rôle it would be to assist the steps of India along the road that in the fulness of time would lead to complete self-government within the Empire. In the interval required for the accomplishment of this task certain powers of supervision, and if need be of intervention, would be retained and substantial steps towards redeeming the pledges of the Government were to be taken at the earliest moment possible.

I shall not attempt to recount in detail the processes by which subsequently the new policy was given definite form and expression in the Act of 1919. They are set out in documents, all of which have been published.

In May 1916 I took up first the question of constitutional reform. Throughout that year and the first half of 1917 I pressed upon His Majesty's Government the necessity for a declaration of policy outlining the objective of British rule in



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India and the steps to be taken in the direction of that objective, feeling sure that such a declaration could only emanate satisfactorily from the highest authority of the Empire. In August 1917 that declaration was made, and in November the Secretary of State on my invitation came to India to take up the task of recommending with myself to His Majesty's Government the steps to be taken in fulfilment of the declaration. Without that visit I make bold to say the Government of India might still be exchanging despatches with His Majesty's Government on this subject. No two men could have worked together on such a task with greater harmony and good-will. Differences there may have been, but where and when have there not been differences in such a work.

Our proposals and the reasons for them are set out in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. They have been widely and in some quarters severely criticised and in some respects they have been modified by Parliament, but the cardinal feature of our scheme, now generally known as the system of dyarchy, is the basis of the Act of 1919. It will be for future generations to pass the final judgment on our scheme, and I shall not endeavour to anticipate the verdict. But certain claims I do advance. The scheme does represent an honest effort to give effect in the fullest and most complete form possible to the declaration of August 1917. Neither here nor in England has there been any attempt to whittle down or nullify the pledges then given. Nor can the charge of failing to consult Indian opinion be laid at our doors. At every stage we have courted publicity. The proposals in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms were communicated to the public at the earliest moment possible; the criticisms which they elicited were transmitted to the Secretary of State

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in published despatches, and every opportunity was given to all parties to lay their views before the Joint Committee. And every criticism, every suggestion, every alternative plan was fully weighed and explored. We left nothing undone that in our judgment might conduce to the successful solution of the great work which we had undertaken. According to our lights we have striven to make the gift which we had to bestow worthy of Britain and worthy of India. And now His Majesty the King-Emperor, who has given so many proofs of his concern for the welfare of India, has been pleased to set the seal on our labours of the last four years by deputing His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to open on his behalf the new Indian Legislature. His Royal Highness is no stranger to India. Some five years of his life were passed in this country; he has himself been a member of the Indian Legislative Council; he knows the people of India and their problems and his interest in their well-being has never flagged. We welcome him not only as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor, but as an old and proved friend of India.

And now it is my privilege and pleasure to ask His Royal Highness to inaugurate the new assemblies of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly.

*Your Excellency and Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature,—*

*His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught said :—*

I am the bearer of a message from His Majesty the King-Emperor. It is this—

**HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR'S MESSAGE TO  
THE INDIAN LEGISLATURES.**

Little more than a year has elapsed since I gave my assent to the Act of Parliament which set up a

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constitution for British India. The intervening time has been fully occupied in perfecting the necessary machinery ; and you are now at the opening of the first Session of the Legislatures which the Act established. On this auspicious occasion I desire to send to you, and to the members of the various provincial Councils, my congratulations and my earnest good wishes for success in your labours and theirs.

For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. To-day you have beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.

On you, the first representatives of the people in the new Councils, there rests a very special responsibility. For on you it lies, by the conduct of your business and the justice of your judgments, to convince the world of the wisdom of this great constitutional change. But on you it also lies to remember the many millions of your fellow-countrymen who are not yet qualified for a share in political life, to work for their upliftment and to cherish their interests as your own.

I shall watch your work with unfailing sympathy, and with a resolute faith in your determination to do your duty to India and the Empire.

As you know, it had been the intention of His Majesty to send the Prince of Wales, the Heir to the Throne, with his,

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greetings and his authority to open the Chambers of the new Indian Legislature. Events did not permit of his coming, and I received His Majesty's commands to perform these functions on his behalf. In me the King selected the eldest member of the Royal House, and the only surviving son of Queen Victoria whose love and care for India will ever live in its peoples' memory. I have myself a deep affection for India, having served it for years and made many friends among its Princes and leaders. It is thus with no common pleasure that I am here to receive you on this memorable occasion.

Throughout the centuries Delhi has witnessed the pomp and ceremony of many historic assemblages. Two at least of these are remembered by most of you. Twenty years ago, I took part in that brilliant concourse which celebrated the accession of my late brother, King Edward the Seventh. Nine years later, amid circumstances of unforgettable splendour, King George the Fifth and his Queen received in person the homage of the Princes and peoples of India. Our ceremony to-day may lack the colour and romance of the gatherings I have mentioned, though it does not yield to them in the sincerity of its loyalty. But it strikes a new and different note : it marks the awakening of a great nation to the power of its nationhood.

In the annals of the world there is not, so far as I know, an exact parallel for the constitutional change which this function initiates ; there is certainly no parallel for the method of that change. Political freedom has often been won by revolution, by tumult, by civil war, at the price of peace and public safety. How rarely has it been the free gift of one

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people to another, in response to a growing wish for greater liberty, and to growing evidence of fitness for its enjoyment. Such, however, is the position of India to-day ; and I congratulate most warmly those of you, old in the service of your motherland, who have striven, through good report and ill, for the first instalment of that gift, and to prove India worthy of it. I trust that you, and those who take up your mantles after you, will move faithfully and steadfastly along the road which is opened to-day.

When India became a dependency of the British Crown, she passed under a British guardianship, which has laboured with glorious results to protect India from the consequences of her own history at home, and from the complications of international pressure abroad. Autocratic, however, as was the Government then inaugurated, it was based on the principles laid down by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria in that famous Proclamation of 1858, of which the key-note is contained in the following passage :—" In their prosperity will be our strength ; in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward." And though there have been occasions on which the tranquillity of this great country has been endangered by disturbances and disorders, which have necessitated the use of military force, speaking on behalf of His Majesty and with the assent of His Government I repudiate in the most emphatic manner the idea that the administration of India has been or ever can be based on principles of force or terrorism. All Governments are liable to be confronted with situations which can be dealt with only by measures outside the ordinary law ; but the employment of such measures is subject to clear and definite limitations ; and His Majesty's Government have always insisted and will

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always insist on the observance of these limitations as jealously in the case of India as in that of England herself.

As His Excellency the Viceroy has observed, the principle of autocracy has all been abandoned. Its retention would have been incompatible with that contentment which had been declared by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria to be the aim of British rule, and would have been inconsistent with the legitimate demands and aspirations of the Indian people and the stage of political development which they have attained. Henceforward, in an ever-increasing degree, India will have to bear her own burdens. They are not light. The times which have seen the conception and birth of the new constitution are full of trouble. The war which ended two years ago has done more than alter the boundaries of nations. The confusion which it brought in its train will abate in time ; but the world has not passed unchanged through the fire. New aspirations have awakened ; new problems been created, and old ones invested with a stinging urgency. India has escaped the worst ravages of the war and its sequels, and is thus in some respects better fitted than many other countries to confront the future. Her material resources are unimpaired ; her financial system is sound, and her industries are ready for rapid expansion. But she cannot hope to escape altogether the consequences of the world-wide struggle. The countries of the earth are linked together as never before. A contagious ferment of scepticism and unrest is seething everywhere in the minds of men ; and its workings are plainly visible in India. She has other problems peculiarly her own. Inexperience in political methods will be irksome at times. The electorates will have to be taught their powers and responsibilities. And difficulties, which are negligible in smaller

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and more homogeneous countries, will arise in handling questions of religion and race and custom.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature, such are the labours which await you. They will have to be carried on under the eyes of a watching world, interested but not uncritical,—of the sister nations who welcome you into their partnership in the British Empire, of that wider Council of nations which look to India as the future guide of the unknown forces of Asia. Your individual responsibility is great. You may perhaps be apprehensive that the arena for practical issues of immediate moment will be rather the Provincial Councils than the Central Legislature. You may feel that the Ministers in the provinces will be in closer touch with popular causes and have larger opportunities of public service. But this is true only in a very limited sense. It is the clear intention of the Act of 1919 that the policy and decisions of the Government of India should be influenced, to an extent incomparably greater than they have been in the past, by the views of the Indian Legislature; and the Government will give the fullest possible effect consistent with their own responsibilities to Parliament, to this principle of the new constitution. From now onwards your influence will extend to every sphere of the Central Government; it will be felt in every part of its administration. You are concerned not with the province but with all British India, and statesmanship could not ask for a nobler field of exercise. Upon the manner in which your influence is exerted, upon the wisdom and foresight displayed in your deliberations, upon the spirit in which you approach your great task, will depend the progress of India towards the goal of complete Self-government.

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*Inauguration of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly, Delhi.*

To ensure, so far as political machinery can ensure, that the Legislature is fitly equipped for those lofty duties, two Chambers have been constituted. In the Council of State it has been the intention of Parliament to create a true Senate, a body of "elder statesmen" endowed with mature knowledge, experience of the world and the consequent sobriety of judgment. Its functions will be to exercise a revising but not an overriding influence, for caution and moderation, and to review and adjust the acts of the larger Chamber. To the Assembly it will fall to voice more directly the needs of the people. Soldier and trader, owners of land and dwellers in cities, Hindu and Mahomedan, Sikh and Christian, all classes and communities will have in it their share of representation. Each class and each community can bring its own contribution, its own special knowledge, to the common deliberations. And may I say in passing that help will be expected from the representatives of the British non-official community. They have done great service to the trade and industry of India in the past; will they now, with their special experience of representative institutions in their own land, lend their powerful aid in building up India's political life and practice?

In a Legislature thus composed, it is both inevitable and right that strong differences of opinion and aims should manifest themselves. Struggle is a condition of progress in the political as in the natural world. Politics is in fact the process of the clash of wills, sympathies and interests striving for adjustment in the sphere of legislation and government. But it is the great virtue of representative institutions that they tend to replace the blind encounter of conflicting interests by reasoned discussion, compromise, toleration and the mutual respect for honourable opponents. The extent to



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which a body of law-makers shows itself capable of controlling passion and prejudice is the measure of its capacity for enduring success. For these reflections I make no apology. They must already have been present to your minds ; but they constitute the strongest plea for what all friends of India most desire to see,—a greater unity of purpose among her various communities. In all your deliberations let there be a conscious striving for unity in essentials, that unity which has been lacking in India in the past but may yet become, if steadfastly nurtured, her greatest strength.

Gentlemen of the Indian Legislature, hitherto I have spoken of your duties. Let me close with a word on your privileges. On you, who have been elected the first members of the two Chambers, a signal honour has fallen. Your names will go down to history as those whom India chose to lead the van of her march towards constitutional liberty. I pray that success will attend you, and that the result of your labours will be worthy of the trust that India has reposed in you.

Your Excellency, you are approaching the end of your Viceroyalty. In almost every country of the world, the years just passed have been critical and anxious, in India no less, and I know well the vast and well nigh overwhelming anxieties which you have been called upon to face.

I know well the high sense of duty which has always prompted you, the single purpose which has possessed you, the never-failing courage which has sustained you.

From the first moment you held one special object in view. You determined, God willing, to lead India to a definite stage in her constitutional advancement. Through all distractions and difficulties you held to that determination, and to-day,

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*Inauguration of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly, Delhi.*

when your thoughts are turning to the home-land and to the hour when your mantle will pass to other shoulders, when you think regretfully, as all men must in such an hour, of all the things you would have wished to do had fortune been more kind, still as you look round this Assembly, Your Excellency must surely feel "For this I have striven and in this I have won."

I wish to offer my warm congratulations to you on the translation to-day into life and reality of that far-seeing scheme of political progress of which you and the Secretary of State were the authors. It must be no small pride to a statesman who had been directing the destinies of India during these difficult years, that he sees, while still in office, the foundations securely laid of that edifice which he helped to plan with infinite care, in face of much misunderstanding, and yet with the full assurance of a nation's future gratitude. I trust that Your Excellency's successor and the devoted public servants, who will be his agents and advisers, will find in the new Indian Legislature an alleviation of labour, a faithful mirror of India's needs and wishes, and a trusty link between themselves and the vast millions under their care.

And now I declare duly open the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly constituted under the Government of India Act, 1919.

Gentlemen, I have finished my part in to-day's official proceedings. May I claim your patience and forbearance while I say a few words of a personal nature ?

Since I landed I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be

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*Inauguration of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly, Delhi.*

friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjab. No one can deplore those events more intensely than I do myself.

I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal wounds and to reunite those who have been disunited. In what must be, I fear, my last visit to the India I love so well, here in the new Capital, inaugurating a new constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, put in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted.

My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all—British and Indians—to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day.

The two Presidents formally acknowledged His Majesty's message and the Viceroy wound up the proceedings in the following manner :—

“ Before declaring these proceedings closed I should like to add one or two words to the speech which I made at the opening to-day. No one can have listened unmoved to the personal appeal which has been made to all of us in the closing words of His Royal Highness' speech. Cannot we all bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past : forgive where we have to forgive, and

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the All-India War Memorial in the  
New Capital, Delhi.*

join hands and work together? I use His Royal Highness' words : I can use no better. I now declare the proceedings closed."

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE ALL-INDIA  
WAR MEMORIAL IN THE NEW CAPITAL, DELHI.

In inviting His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to lay the foundation stone of the All-India War Memorial His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

We are assembled here, in the presence of representatives of all the units of the Indian Army, to lay the foundation stone of the All-India War Memorial. The immortal story of the endurance and valour of the sons of India in the cold and mud of Flanders, the heat of Mesopotamia, indeed in every land where the soldiers of the Empire fought and bled, is a legacy which their sons and their sons' sons will treasure above all the wealth that the world can offer.

The stirring tales of individual heroism, which Your Royal Highness has no doubt read, will live for ever in the annals of this country. But the story of the no less heroic endurance of hardships and discomforts, of suffering and death, in the field and in captivity, is known only to those who suffered and their comrades in arms.

It is as a tribute to the memory of these heroes, known and unknown, that we are erecting the All-India War Memorial. May it serve to keep their memory green and to inspire us, for whom they fought and died, that we may endure

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the All-India War Memorial in the New Capital, Delhi.*

hardships with a like silent fortitude, may fight the battle of life with no less valour, and, if Providence so wills, may lay down our lives, content, like them, with a duty honourably done and a cause nobly vindicated.

I would ask Your Royal Highness now to lay the foundation stone of the All-India War Memorial.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in responding said :—

*Officers and Men of the Indian Army and of the Imperial Service Troops*,—His Majesty the King-Emperor has commanded me on this solemn occasion to convey a message of His Royal thanks to the Indian Army and to the Imperial Service Troops furnished by Indian States. It is as follows :—

“ The Great War from which our Empire has emerged victorious involved the most powerful nations of the earth and spread over vast Seas and Continents. From the crowded record, here and there certain leaders, here and there certain features, stand clearly out, arresting the attention and admiration of the world to-day, and claiming with confidence the verdict of posterity. In this honourable company the Indian Army has an assured place. Scattered far and wide, under alien skies, in adversity and in triumph they played their part with stout and gallant hearts. True to their tradition, they answered the Empire's call with soldierly discipline and fortitude. Staunch in the loyalty they have ever displayed to the Throne and Person of their King-Emperor, they made his cause their

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the All-India War Memorial in the  
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own and willingly laid down their lives for their Sovereign. Gratitude for loyalty such as this lies deep in my heart and is beyond the power of words. 'They did their duty.' "

"Can the King for whom they fought give higher praise to his faithful soldiers?"

I have great pleasure in announcing that in recognition of the distinguished services and gallantry of the Indian Army during the Great War, His Majesty the King-Emperor has been graciously pleased to confer the title "Royal" on the following units :—

The Deccan Horse.

3rd Sappers and Miners.

6th Jat Light Infantry.

34th Sikh Pioneers.

39th Garhwal Rifles.

59th Scinde Rifles (Frontier Force).

117th Mahrattas.

5th Gurkha Rifles (Frontier Force).

His Majesty has also been graciously pleased to nominate me as Colonel-in-Chief of the 47th Sikhs, a Regiment which served with great distinction in the war. I greatly value an honour which will strengthen the many ties I have with my old friends, the soldiers of the *Khalsa*.

*Officers and Men of the Indian Army and of the Imperial Service Troops*,—Many of us here to-day must have ringing in our ears the glowing tribute paid to the Indian Army by His

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the All-India War Memorial in the New Capital, Delhi.*

Royal Highness The Prince of Wales when unveiling the testimony of affection and gratitude erected by the citizens of Brighton in memory of the Indian soldiers who died there in the days of the War. India knows full well, I trust, how generously and how tenderly the people of Brighton discharged their self-allotted task of receiving and sheltering the wounded Indian soldiers brought to their care from the battlefields of France ; and I am sure that throughout India the message of good-will from the marble *chattri* at Brighton will awaken a grateful and responsive echo.

Here on Indian soil we are assembled to discharge a similar debt of honour. On this spot, in the central vista of the Capital of India, there will stand a Memorial Archway, designed to keep present in the thoughts of the generations that follow after, the glorious sacrifice of the officers and men of the Indian Army who fought and fell in the Great War. The men were nobly led and the officers were bravely followed, and we give thanks to Almighty Providence that the cause for which they fought was the cause which prevailed, and that our Memorial is not one of lives lost in vain, but a monument of great and overwhelming victory.

To-day's simple ceremony would surely appeal to those gallant soldiers who have fought their last fight and to whom we are gathered here to pay tribute. For it is a soldiers' ceremony. Before me, there are assembled from far and wide men of the Indian Army of to-day, many of them once comrades of those who are at this hour foremost in our thoughts, but who will never again answer our *Reveillée*. Let us try to think that those absent comrades are with us here to-day, back from their distant and scattered graves,

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the All-India War Memorial in the New Capital, Delhi.*

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standing in our ranks once again, helping us to do them honour in the spirit they themselves would wish, inspiring us with their clearer vision to understand a soldier's duty.

I am deeply touched to find that my visit to India should enable me to take part in to-day's solemn ceremony, for my admiration and affection for the Indian Army go back many years. I belong to the older generation among soldiers. The chances of service brought me into the closest touch with the Indian Army of former days, the Army which Lord Roberts fathered, the Army which Lord Kitchener schooled. I well remember those veteran Regiments whose war medals told of service far from their Indian homes, in China, East Africa, West Africa, South Africa, Somaliland, Egypt and the Frontiers of India and Burma. It was an Army of great traditions and splendid discipline, but little did I dream in those days what re noter echoes the Indian bugle call would awaken, to what still more distant fields the Indian Army would one day be called, or to what immense expansion that great organization would be brought by the strong impulse of loyalty and patriotism. To-day we know that more than a million Indians left these shores to serve abroad, of whom nearly 60,000 including 850 Indian officers gave up their lives in the Empire's cause.

The many campaigns in which the units of the Indian Army took part are written in history. The honours they won were many, but on these I shall not dwell now. Some indeed are proudly worn by those who stand here before me. But the sole honour we commemorate here is the honour of the great sacrifice, the supreme honour of a soldier's death.

What though the world sometimes seems to us dark with trouble and the sky overcast, let us look back with



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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the All-India War Memorial in the  
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pride, and forward with hope. For these men showed us the true heart of India. Through them, we know that the soul of India has only to be touched aright and India will respond to her King-Emperor's call. In this hour of crowding memories let us have no sombre thoughts but re-capture once again that thrill which passed through us all, when we first heard in those far off days of 1914, that Indian troops had landed at Marseilles, and were pressing on towards our thinly held battle-lines in France and Flanders. That is the vision which the glorious dead would wish us to have to-day. Their tradition lives. The Army goes on, fortified by their example, to face whatever task the future may have in store.

You men of the Indian Army know when a fine Regiment marches through the streets of a busy town, how every one quits his work, stands and looks in admiring silence or marches along with you. Is it merely because of your glittering array, or the rhythm of your march? No, it is something far deeper than that. It is the spirit of the Army making itself felt, the spirit of discipline, of unity, of brave tradition, of comradeship till death. In the presence of that moral force, men turn from the sordid cares of every-day life and pay you unconscious reverence, as though some uplifting influence had passed through their work-a-day world. You enjoy a great heritage of honour. Strive then always to uphold the honour of your regiments, and be faithful to the memory of those gallant soldiers who have added lustre to your name and fame. I like to recall the simple tribute paid by the Indian Corps Commander in France. He wrote—

“The discipline of this Corps has been above reproach; they have behaved like gentlemen, and the French and British

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Imperial Legislative Chambers  
in the New Capital, Delhi.*

both know it well. If they had done nothing else, they would still leave Europe with a clean sheet as citizens of the Empire.” “They behaved like gentlemen.” I do not think that those who gave up their lives would wish for an epitaph more eloquent than this.

May the spirit of the Indian Army ever remain bright and untarnished, and on the great examples which we commemorate here to-day, may new and great traditions be founded, and the Indian Army of the future, through them re-consecrated and re-inspired, be the worthy heir of those who fought and died under its Colours in the Great War.

**LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE OF THE IMPERIAL  
LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS IN THE NEW CAPITAL, DELHI.**

The Foundation Stone of the Imperial Legislative Chambers was laid by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in the New Capital, Delhi, on the morning of the 12th February. In inviting His Royal Highness to perform the ceremony His Excellency the Viceroy said :—

The edifice, of which I am asking Your Royal Highness to lay the foundation stone to-day, comprises within one circle the three separate buildings, in which the Chamber of Princes, the Council of State, and the Legislative Assembly will be housed.

This first step towards providing these bodies with a permanent and worthy home for their deliberations is a necessary complement to the inauguration ceremonies in which we have recently taken part.

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Imperial Legislative Chambers  
in the New Capital, Delhi.*

The building is one which makes a special appeal to the imagination of those who forecast the future of our new reformed Councils. It is within the walls which will spring up here that the destinies of British India will some day be moulded and that the representative institutions, which have now come into being and are making essay of their first steps, will arrive at their full maturity and strength.

The building makes an even wider appeal. For here under one roof and within one circle will be gathered not only the representatives of British India but of India in the wider sense. The joint building is the symbol of the integral connection of the Indian States with the British Empire. It testifies to the united interests of British India and Indian States. It stands for that two-fold allegiance which the Princes and peoples of India owe in their several degrees to one King-Emperor, and for a common desire to work to one great end.

This ceremony represents indeed the development of one great purpose of which Queen Victoria laid the foundations in the Royal Proclamation of 1876—that is the unity of the Indian Empire. I now invite Your Royal Highness to lay the foundation stone of this building which is destined to be of such moment to the new constitutions in India and to the Empire.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's speech is as follows :—

*Your Excellency*,—I feel that the ceremony which I am asked to perform to-day is one in which His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor will take the keenest interest.

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Imperial Legislative Chambers  
in the New Capital, Delhi.*

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I may remind you that the King-Emperor, when he was last among you in Delhi, made his gracious announcement regarding the transfer of the seat of Government to the ancient capital at Delhi. I may recall the very words in which His Majesty on that occasion expressed his wishes :

“ It is our earnest desire that these changes may conduce to the better administration of India ;” and His Majesty likewise prayed that the decision might increase “ the welfare of the Indian Empire and the prosperity and happiness of his people.”

Since then His Majesty has watched with continuous interest the progress made in the construction of the new capital, and His Majesty will be gratified to hear that the foundation stone of the new Legislative Chambers has been laid during my visit. These buildings will not only be the home of new representative institutions which mark a vast stride forward in the political development of India and of the British Empire, but will, I trust, stand for future generations as the symbol of India's re-birth to yet higher destinies. All great rulers, every great people, every great civilization have left their own record in stone and bronze and marble, as well as in the pages of history. I need only recall the Acropolis of Athens, the Capitol of Rome, and the great cities of the East famous in past ages for their splendour and culture. India herself is rich in such precious legacies. From the granite pillars on which the Apostle Emperor Asoka engraved his imperishable edicts, onwards through the chequered centuries, down to the splendid palaces of the Moghal Emperors, every age has left behind it some monument commensurate

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*Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Imperial Legislative Chambers  
in the New Capital, Delhi.*

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with its own achievements. Is it not a worthy ideal that equally noble buildings shall consecrate India's great achievements in the 20th Century ; her solemn entry upon the path of responsible government, which Great Britain and the Self-governing Dominions of the Empire have trod before her ? Is there any building in Great Britain around which cluster so many and such great memories as the stately home of the Mother of Parliaments on the banks of the River Thames ? Have not each of the Self-governing Dominions in the Empire wisely sought to enshrine their new nationhood in a new Capital of which its own Parliament is always the proudest monument ? Surely India and her representatives in the new Assemblies, which it has already been my privilege to inaugurate, will wish that these great institutions should be liberally and enduringly housed.

A great Englishman has truly said—

“ Architecture has its political use ; public buildings being the ornament of a country ; it establishes a nation ; and makes a people love their native country, which passion is the original of all great actions in a Commonwealth.”

May I express the hope that the Government, the Princes and the people of India will not fail to give visible and permanent architectural expression in ever enduring stone to these high ideals, and will endeavour to complete the buildings of New Delhi with an excellence at least not inferior to the noble beginnings which we now see rising up before us ; so that they shall not compare unfavourably with the monuments bequeathed to her so bountifully by former generations.

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*Inauguration of the Institution of Engineers (India) at Calcutta.*

My earnest hope is that New Delhi may not only become a capital worthy of the future greatness of India, but also one of the great national Capitals which will link the peoples of the Empire together in enduring peace and prosperity under the ægis of the British Crown.

INAUGURATION OF THE INSTITUTION OF ENGINEERS  
(INDIA) AT CALCUTTA.

His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by Her Excellency and Staff, paid a brief farewell visit to Calcutta in February. 23rd February 1921.

On the morning of the 23rd February His Excellency was invited to inaugurate the Institution of Engineers (India) and made the following remarks on the occasion:—

It is with great pleasure that I have accepted your invitation to inaugurate to-day the Institution of Engineers, the first society of its kind in India. The pressing need for a corporation such as this was emphasized by the Indian Industrial Commission and there can be no doubt that it will have great opportunities to influence the technical and industrial future of India.

Every industrial country has, in course of time, found the necessity for an institution of this nature, the primary object of which is to make its members proficient and trusted by the public, thus maintaining the high status of the engineer and of the engineering profession generally. So long as engineering in India was practically confined to Government activities the need for corporate action, such as is now contemplated, was not so marked, but in these days, when

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India may be said to be entering upon its great industrial future, the status of the engineering profession has become a matter of the first importance, and it is only by an institution like this that it can be safeguarded and assured.

I have read with much interest the details of your constitution and am greatly struck with the able way in which the various difficulties which presented themselves to the organizers of the Institution have been surmounted. The principal difficulty was obviously the enormous size of the country over which the activities of the Institution will spread, and the consequent lack of cohesion both as between the members themselves and as between the members and the central body which might well be anticipated if membership of that body were the only link binding them together. The principle of Local Associations, which is so prominent a feature of the constitution, seems admirably to meet this geographical difficulty by encouraging the formation of dependent societies, all equal partners in the Institution but each with autonomy in regard to its own affairs. In this manner the local societies will be able to encourage intercourse between all the engineers of the locality by admitting to its deliberations applicants for membership who are not qualified for the distinction of membership of the parent body, thus keeping the status of the latter intact without in any way handicapping the local Association by unduly restricting its membership. I anticipate that there will be no hesitation on the part of the several local Associations and Congresses which already exist in many of the provinces of India in giving their support to the new Institution, thus binding themselves with closer ties to one another and laying the foundation of a great all-India body.

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*Inauguration of the Institution of Engineers (India) at Calcutta.*

The Institution is, I note, to include all the various branches of the engineering profession. While I imagine that this arrangement has been more or less forced upon the organizers by the fact that separate societies for each branch would be unable to obtain a sufficiently large membership to ensure success, it appears to me that an Institution which embraces every branch must have a much higher value than one more specialized, in that greater co-operation between the branches will be obtained. Particularly in industrial engineering the civil, mechanical and electrical engineer must work side by side, and a common Institution should lead to a more comprehensive study and appreciation of each other's problems and difficulties than would otherwise be the case.

Another feature of your constitution which I note with interest is the admission of Associate Members to the Council, this being, I believe, a step in advance of that taken by similar Institutions. There is always a possibility, when the government of a society is vested entirely in the senior members of it, of undue conservatism and the new Institution guards against this from the outset by admitting junior members to its Council. If, then, the Council ever gets out of touch with the aspirations of the rising generation of engineers, the latter will have only themselves and their representatives in the Council Chamber to blame.

And now I would say a few words regarding the relation of the Institution with the Government. I am extremely glad that it has been decided, from the outset, that this is to be a strictly unofficial society. It is, I think it will be admitted, the character and number of a country's free social institutions—voluntary combinations of individuals to effect some definite object—which afford the readiest index to a



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people's desire for progress, and the founding of this Institution shows the will to improve and expand the technical industries of India on the part of those in whose hands the responsibility for this expansion will mainly rest. The Government may set up a Department of Industry, but it is only when it knows that those who represent the industrial activities of the country are also banding themselves together for its advancement that there is any assurance that the material to work with is there. And the new Department of Industries in India will certainly look towards the Institution of Engineers both for the initiation of schemes and for assistance in their development. The Institution, with its members drawn from every branch of the engineering profession, will have unique opportunities of detecting early the technical needs of each developing industry and of advising Government to consider and, where it lies within its power, to open the way for whatever innovation the situation calls for. From its very nature there are matters which a Government cannot originate and there are problems which the individual, however strong and brilliant, is too small to tackle. This is where the Institution, stronger than the individual and yet not hampered by the responsibilities of Government, can usefully step in and be sure of a welcome.

My Government has already in one case solicited the help of the new Institution. We were addressed some time ago by the Secretary of State with a view to Engineering Standards being framed for India in co-operation with the Engineering Standards Association in London. This is a task for which the Institution, representative as it is of every branch of the profession, is admirably adapted, and my Government had therefore no hesitation in entrusting the matter to it

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*Inauguration of the Institution of Engineers (India) at Calcutta.*

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and, in this respect alone, an important field for its activities has been opened. I also understand that an employment bureau for technical workers and for employers with technical appointments to be filled has been started; this, again, is a great advance, as India needs such a bureau much more than smaller and more highly developed engineering countries. I have mentioned two branches of activity only—many more will doubtless be discerned in which the Institution can be of immediate practical use to Government, to its own members, and to the country at large.

The progress of the Institution will be watched with interest not only in this country, but throughout the world of industry. Great opportunities entail great responsibilities and this Institution is taking upon itself responsibilities which are not lightly to be discharged and functions which it is hardly too much to say may influence profoundly the future industrial development of India. The raising of the status of the engineering profession should inevitably result in rendering it more attractive to the youth of the country, and in diverting it thereto from other professions; there may thus be a very definite social effect arising from its activities. Another aspect, upon which the Industrial Commission laid stress, was that of the promotion of professional education of the younger generation, and since the Institution will probably include, among its members, a considerable number of the largest industrial employers, it is obvious that any recommendations it may make in this respect must and will be very carefully listened to. This moulding of youth entails, as I have said, the greatest responsibilities and I am sure that they will be viewed in this light and will be the subject of earnest deliberation. The

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names of your honoured president and of the officers who form your first Council are the best guarantee that nothing will be left undone to raise the standards of engineering in India and to give to the profession the prestige that is its due.

Let me assure you of my hearty good wishes for you in the great good task that lies ahead of you and of my continued interest in your welfare.

And now I declare the Institution of Engineers, India, to be duly inaugurated.

The Viceroy at the end announced that he would give an annual prize of Rs. 500, to be known as the Viceroy's Prize, for the best paper on Engineering Subjects written by any member of the Institute. The Council of the Institute would adjudicate.

## CALCUTTA CLUB DINNER.

23rd February. His Excellency the Viceroy was the guest of the Calcutta Club on the evening of the 23rd February. Speaking at the Dinner His Excellency said :—

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—This is the fourth time on which I have had the privilege and pleasure of being the guest of the Calcutta Club. Naturally at the end of five years one looks back upon sins of omission and commission and it is a matter of regret to me now that in 1917 when you were so good as to invite me to be your guest, the preoccupations of the work which I was doing with Mr. Montagu at the time prevented me from accepting your kind invitation. Otherwise I should have been your guest every year that I paid a visit to Calcutta. I hope that this practice which you have followed in my case will be followed in the case of my successors

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*Calcutta Club Dinner.*

because I can conceive no more convenient method of bringing the Viceroy into contact with prominent men, and prominent men into touch with the Viceroy, than these annual dinners. In April 1916, on my assumption of office, I paid a short informal visit to Calcutta to leave, as I said at the time, my card on the former Capital. To-day I have been able to do no more than spare a few days in order to leave my P. P. C. card. I hope, however, that you, gentlemen, who belong to Calcutta, will have realised from my constant visits to Calcutta my fondness for your great city and my regret that fate has rendered it impossible for me to live amongst you as all my predecessors have done.

Now, as I look back upon the past five years, I realise the great changes that have taken place. There is an old Latin tag *cælum non animum muta t qui trans mare currunt*. They change their sky and not their mind who cross the sea. I do not believe myself that this was true even of the days when the poet wrote, because environment has a great influence upon the mind of those who are subjected to change. The principle of it is undoubtedly not true of those who have crossed the floor of a House from the Opposition to the Ministerial Bench, because, naturally, for the first time they cease to be critics and become the criticised. This is inherent in the nature of Parliamentary institutions everywhere, but it is inevitable that a man who, for the first time, is made acquainted with the reasons for Government action should see greater justification for what the Government does than in the old days when he was not so well acquainted with facts and was inclined to think that nothing that the Government could do was right.

Now I am sure you will forgive me, on this last occasion of a visit to your Club, if I dwell for a few moments on the

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unrestful times through which we are passing. I think I may assume that the mere fact of your presence here to night proves you to be co-operators with Government. We are not the only country which is subject to unrest at the present moment ; indeed, look where you like over the world, unrest is almost the order of the day. But you may naturally ask :— Granted that this is so, what is your policy with regard to the present situation ? Let me summarise the position as I see it. I understand that those who have refused to co-operate with Government do so on the broad ground that I and my Government are Satanic ! I am glad to think I still have a sense of humour. I have had many epithets applied to myself in my time, but the epithet of “Satanic” has broken entirely new ground. Apart, however, from what I conceive to be its peculiar inappropriateness to myself, it surely must appear singularly ill-chosen when Indians are at the present moment forming the bulk of the Provincial Governments and a large proportion of the Government of India. I pass on however. The Reforms have been inaugurated and responsibility has been in large measure transferred to Indian hands. How amazing it is then that at such a time those who have for years been asking for a greater share in the Government should now, like children, be refusing to play ! It reminds me of an American quatrain which I came across in the course of my reading the other day :

“ Mother may I go and swim ?

Yes, my dearest daughter.

Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,

But don't go near the water.”

I cannot help feeling that this quatrain sums up the situation so far as the non-co-operators are concerned. And now

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as to our policy with regard to the non-co-operation movement. The Reforms and the Reformed Councils are the keynote of our policy. Indians now share responsibility with the Government. Therefore I think the Government may well claim from Indians help in combatting this agitation. Non-co-operation is spread by propaganda: it behoves us then, British and Indians, to counter it by propaganda. Non-co-operation takes hold of grievances where they may exist: it behoves us, so far as in us lies, to remedy these grievances. Non-co-operation has failed in many of the objects which it set out to attain. An answer in the Imperial Legislature the other day showed how poor the response had been to the demand for the surrender of titles. The existence of the Imperial Legislature and the Provincial Councils shows that in this respect too the authors of non-co-operation have not had their way. I much regret that there are many who have felt themselves obliged to stand out from the Councils. The Councils would have been the better for their help and their views in their deliberations, but the outstanding fact remains that the Councils have been established, are composed of admirable material and are doing their work. Non-co-operation was attempted in the *Hijrat* movement into Afghanistan. The trail of death and suffering imposed by that exodus upon the unfortunate misguided people who took part in it has, I believe, killed any attempt to revive any such exodus from India. Non-co-operation succeeded temporarily in inducing emotional boys to leave their schools and colleges, but here again as soon as the emotional ebullition had passed, the students have returned in large numbers to their class-rooms. We have then every reason to take heart with regard to the success of the policy which we have adopted. But the non-co-operators having failed with the classes, especially the educated

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classes, are now devoting their attention to the masses. Here, again, we must endeavour by co-ordinated effort to teach the masses aright.

There is a Moslem aspect of the present situation. No one could have done more than I to bring Moslem views and sentiments of the community to the Peace Conferences which have been considering the Turkish Peace Terms, and no one—not a Moslem—could have shown more dislike than I to the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty. I say then that we have every reason to be especially tender and sympathetic to those Mahomedans who have been led into the non-co-operation movement by their views with regard to the Turkish Peace Treaty. But a moment may come when our policy fails, and when the two alternatives of order on the one hand, or anarchy on the other, alone face us. In such an event there can be only one course for the Government to pursue and that is to uphold the cause of order. We shall then ask all responsible men to range themselves on the side of order, and here I am confident that the Reformed Councils will play their part. We, as a Government, will place all the facts before them and all our cards on the table, and I am confident that when we prove to them that the alternative is between order and anarchy, there will be only one response made and that is that “we will support you in any action that you may consider necessary to maintain order in the country.”

This is my last visit to Calcutta, and I feel that I cannot leave without paying an acknowledgment to Lord Ronaldshay and his Colleagues. I should like to acknowledge the loyal co-operation of the Bengal Government with my Government: I should like to recognise the wisdom and sagacity which has marked their administration, and I personally thank

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Lord Ronaldshay for the friendship and support which he has always accorded me. Differences there may have been from time to time, but these differences do not detract from that general policy of loyal co-operation which I have always experienced at the hands of Lord Ronaldshay and his Colleagues.

On April 2nd I shall leave India and hand over my office to my successor, Lord Reading. No Viceroy has ever come to India with a finer record of achievement behind him than does Lord Reading, and on hearing of his appointment I cabled at once to him: "My congratulations to you and to India." I feel confident that in those congratulations I was merely echoing what would be the sentiments of you all. But believe me, no Viceroy, however distinguished and however able, can achieve his end unless he possesses your trust and co-operation. No man who takes up the great post of Viceroy can have any but one desire: To magnify India in the Councils of the Empire; to espouse the cause of Indians within the Empire; to champion the aspirations of Indians so far as in him lies. But a Viceroy in any attempt to fulfil his desire must choose his own methods. The flamboyant speech, however much it may tickle the ear at the time, seldom if ever really achieves results. More can be done by quiet, unostentatious pressure: by arguments pruned of every epithet. I would say then: Trust your Viceroy and leave him to choose his own methods of working. He cannot be other than your champion. He accepted that rôle when he accepted his office: he would be untrue to himself if it were to be otherwise. There can only be one governing motive in a Viceroy's life, and that is summed up in Browning's famous lines substituting "India" for "England"—"Here and here did India help me. Where can I help India? Say."



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DEPUTATION REPRESENTING THE MAHOMEDAN ELECTED  
ELEMENT IN THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND  
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, CALCUTTA.

24th February 1921. Prior to his departure from Calcutta His Excellency the Viceroy received the above Deputation, who urged the modification of the Turkish Peace Terms in accordance with the wishes of the Indian Moslim. The Viceroy in reply said :—

*Gentlemen*,—I am very glad to have had this opportunity of meeting you here this afternoon and at having had laid before me one more representation on behalf of the Moslem community with regard to the present situation. I need hardly remind you, though perhaps it is worth while doing so, that I and my Government have repeatedly brought your contentions to the notice of His Majesty's Government and of the Peace Conferences which have been sitting in Europe on this question. May I remind you that early in the stages of the Peace Conference the Secretary of State, Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner, who were then representing India at the Peace Conference, stoutly fought your case before the Peace Conference? But inasmuch as none of these gentlemen could be said to represent strictly your community, I asked certain other gentlemen to go actually before the Peace Conference itself and plead the Mahomedan cause, and they were His Highness the Aga Khan, Mr. Aftab Ahmad, and Mr. Yusuf Ali, and these gentlemen were heard. Now not only have we done this, but every memorial which any sections of your community have forwarded to me has been forwarded to the Secretary of State and has been supported in the most strenuous terms, not only by official documents from my Government, but by personal telegrams from myself. So that I can assure you, from first to last and long before the non-co-operation movement began, that we, as a Government, and I, as

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*Durbar at Jammu, Kashmir.*

the head of the Government, strongly supported your contentions, not only before His Majesty's Government but also before the Peace Conference. And lately in order that we should leave no stone unturned for your case to be represented, not only adequately, but to your own satisfaction, we have again asked certain gentlemen unofficially to go to Europe and present your case there—His Highness the Aga Khan, Mr. Hasan Imam, and Mr. Chotani, and Mr. Chotani is accompanied by Dr. Ansari, who will be acting as his secretary.

I should think a recapitulation of what we have done and what we have attempted to do, such as I have laid before you this afternoon, ought to convince you and, I hope, does convince you, that we have left nothing undone which we could do in order to support your case. I am not acquainted with what is going on in London at the present moment: I have no knowledge, either official or private, of the Conferences which are taking place; but I can assure you that, from first to last, we have espoused your cause and we have fought it in a way which, if I was at liberty to place before you the communications which we have sent home, I think would satisfy every individual.

In conclusion I must again express my great sympathy with you and my determination to the last moment to press every point which we can in favour of your representations.

**DURBAR AT JAMMU, KASHMIR.**

His Excellency the Viceroy, accompanied by his Personal Staff, 5th March paid a brief visit to Jammu on the 5th March, and at the Durbar held 1921. the same afternoon His Excellency delivered the following speech:—

This is the second occasion on which I have had the pleasure of visiting Your Highness' territories. My first visit in the autumn of 1918 is associated in my mind with happy memories

*Durbar at Jammu, Kashmir.*

of the beauties of the Kashmir Valley and of the victorious advance of the Allied troops which preceded the Armistice signed on the 11th November of that year.

My present visit to the Province of Jammu, from which in the first-half of the last century the gallant Dogras, under the leadership of Your Highness' grandfather, spread their conquests far and wide over the surrounding country, is equally auspicious. For I come to restore to Your Highness the full powers of administration which you voluntarily resigned in the early days of your rule, and to replace in your hands the full authority which your ancestors enjoyed. The restoration of these powers has been a gradual process ; an important stage of which was the transfer to Your Highness, in 1905, of the administrative powers then vested in the State Council, subject to certain conditions. During my last visit I had the pleasure of relaxing these conditions and my object in coming here to-day is to remove altogether such restrictions as still remain.

In taking this step I have followed the traditional policy of His Majesty's Government, which is, to use the words of my distinguished predecessor, Lord Curzon, "to safeguard the prestige and authority of the Rulers" of the Indian States. I have been moved further by the desire to reward the Ruler of Kashmir for the splendid work done by the State during the late war. In the course of this great struggle the Rulers of the Indian States rendered services which will never be forgotten. Many of them did personal service in the field ; all gave freely of their man-power and resources. In the supply of fighting men — perhaps the most valuable contribution of all — Kashmir occupies an enviable position among the States of India. For not less than 31,000 combatants enlisted in the

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*Durbar at Jammu, Kashmir.*

Indian Army, while the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops were maintained during the period of the war at a strength of 6,000 rank and file, a truly notable contribution to our common cause. On the other contributions and sacrifices made by Your Highness from the State it is needless to dwell at length. His Majesty's Government have already shown that they are not unmindful of these signal services by conferring on Your Highness the honour of the Grand Cross of the British Empire, and by raising the permanent salute of the Ruler of the Jammu and Kashmir State to 21 guns.

Your Highness' devoted loyalty is known to all, and your State amidst wars and rumours of wars along its borders, and internal trouble in almost every country of the world, has preserved its aloofness and freedom from agitation. It has also faithfully discharged its duty as guardian of a long stretch of frontier marching with Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, and Afghan Wakhan.

The British Government might well be accused of ingratitude if it withheld from the Ruler of a State which has rendered such distinguished service to the Empire the full measure of authority which is normally his due, and I am confident that the great responsibility now laid upon Your Highness will not be misplaced.

Your Highness, in the course of your long rule, with the assistance of the many able officials who have served you, and the advice of the officers of my Government, a great advance has been made. The material prosperity of your subjects has been raised considerably. Wide opportunities for acquiring education in all its branches have been provided; medical facilities have been increased; a land-revenue settlement has been carried out; industries created; forests developed;

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*His Excellency the Viceroy's Pronouncement to the Gwalior Guaranteed Thakurs at Delhi.*

electric power installations established; communications vastly improved and many administrative reforms introduced. I look confidently to Your Highness to maintain this advance, since it has been Your Highness' constant endeavour to secure the happiness and contentment of your people.

It may be that in pursuit of this endeavour, and in consonance with the spirit of the time, you may decide to place your system of Government upon a broader basis, with a view to associating your subjects, both Hindu and Mahomedan, more closely with the administration. Should you elect to do so, you will find in my Agent, Colonel Windham, as in the case of his predecessor, Colonel Bannerman, a sincere friend on whose judgment you may safely rely, and I feel sure that in all matters of difficulty, and particularly in regard to frontier affairs and important changes in the administration, you will avail yourself freely of his advice.

I now declare the powers appertaining to the Ruler of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to be restored in full to my loyal and trusted friend Lieutenant-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Pratap Singh, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., and may Divine Providence guide his counsels in the new responsibility now laid upon him.

**HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY'S PRONOUNCEMENT TO  
THE GWALIOR GUARANTEED THAKURS AT DELHI.**

14th March  
1921.

His Excellency the Viceroy made the following Pronouncement to the Gwalior Guaranteed Thakurs at a Durbar in Viceregal Lodge on the afternoon of the 14th March :—

*Jagirdars and Tankadars of the Gwalior State*,—It must be within the knowledge of most of you how your ancestors

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*His Excellency the Viceroy's Pronouncement to the Gwalior Guaranteed Thakurs at Delhi.*

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came to have direct access to the Political Officers and thus to enjoy the protection of the British Government.

2. In the beginning of the 19th Century the peace of Hindustan was very much disturbed by the prevalence of the predatory system. The British Government desired to restore order and succeeded in doing so by 1818 A. D. To this result the co-operation of their Ally, Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia, greatly contributed.

3. The overthrow of those who were given to marauding and levying blackmail, left the chieftains and nobility of Malwa without means of subsistence and in consequence extremely sore and disaffected. The British Government, therefore, addressed themselves to the task of pacifying the country and appointed Sir John Malcolm to effect this end. Sir John accomplished his mission with the help of certain assistants and the ready co-operation of the Durbars of Central India.

4. Settlements were thus effected which, by the fact of the mediation of Sir John Malcolm and his assistants, involved the guarantee on the part of the British Government that whatever was settled would be scrupulously observed. These settlements assured to the Thakurs the continuance, in perpetuity or for life-time, according as the terms of the grants provided, of their holdings and tankas subject to good conduct and in many cases the duties of watch and ward in respect of portions of the Durbar territory in proximity to their grants. But the British Government did not intend that the mediation of Sir John Malcolm should form the basis for encroachment upon, or interference with, the suzerain rights of the Durbar. In the course of time, however, owing to the conditions prevailing in most States, the settlements effected created a privileged

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*His Excellency the Viceroy's Pronouncement to the Gwalior Guaranteed  
Thakurs at Delhi.*

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position for those to whom certain emoluments had been secured and British officers were led to intervene in matters with which Sir John Malcolm's mediation had no concern.

5. The conditions referred to have ceased to exist, and in Gwalior the Durbar's administration is characterised by fairness and justice, and Lieutenant-General His Highness the Maharaja Scindia takes an active personal interest in all branches of administration. And indeed for safeguarding the interests of this large body of his Jagirdars he created, many years ago, a separate Department and framed a Manual which is complete in all respects.

6. But quite apart from that, the need for a revision of the practice which has subsequently grown up has been apparent for a considerable time. The Government of India have given their best consideration to the problem and have arrived at the following conclusions :—

(1) that, while the pledges originally given by the British Government must remain inviolable, the specially privileged position which the guarantee holders have acquired, and which was not contemplated at the time of the original settlement, should not continue ; and, therefore,

(2) that the Gwalior Durbar should no longer be prevented from exercising the rights which belong to it as Suzerain.

7. Consequently it has been arranged, in consultation with the Maharaja Scindia, that—

(1) the Gwalior Durbar will issue to you fresh Sanads in perpetuity in a form approved by the Government of India ;

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*His Excellency the Viceroy's Pronouncement to the Gwalior Guaranteed  
Thakurs at Delhi.*

(2) these Sanads will, in all cases, confirm the specific rights secured to you by the existing title-deeds and the specific obligations laid on you by your existing title-deeds will be enforced by His Highness to a very limited extent ;

(3) under His Highness' Nazrana Rules, as recently modified, the succession dues, which were formerly levied on adoption at the rate of a whole year's revenue, are now to be levied at the reduced rate of three months' revenue only.

8. In view of this settlement, Political Officers will no longer concern themselves with your affairs, and you will in future look to your Suzerain, His Highness the Maharaja Scindia for the time being, and his Durbar in all matters connected with your estates and tankas. You will, therefore, henceforth be entitled to the rights and subject to the obligations contained in the Manual of Jagirdars of the Gwalior State, Sambat 1970, as in force for the time being.

Jagirdars and Tankadars,—Such are in brief the terms of the settlement which has been arrived at between my Government and the Gwalior Durbar on your behalf. These terms have been fully explained to you by my Agent, Colonel Beville, and I am glad to hear that you have accepted them as a fair and just settlement of your claims under the agreements guaranteed by the officers of the British Government a century ago. I feel that you have every reason to congratulate yourselves on this settlement, which is the result of the negotiations of my officers with His Highness the Maharaja Scindia. His Highness has met their suggestions in a most generous spirit,



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*Prorogation of the Reformed Indian Legislature at Delhi.*

and will, I am confident, always be ready to treat you as his loyal feudatories, and extend to you a friendly hand in all your difficulties. I look to you on your part to bear true allegiance towards your Suzerain, and to perform faithfully the duties which you owe to him. By so doing you will ensure your own happiness and contentment, and add to the strength and prosperity of the British Empire, of which the Gwalior Durbar and yourselves are a part.

PROROGATION OF THE REFORMED INDIAN LEGISLATURE  
AT DELHI.

29th March 1921. His Excellency the Viceroy prorogued the first Session of both Houses of the Reformed Indian Legislature on the morning of the 29th March. His Excellency addressed the Assembly as follows:—

The first Session of the Reformed Indian Legislature has come to an end, and I am here to prorogue it with the ceremony which is traditional in the Mother of Parliaments. Throughout the Session your distinguished Presidents have led you in the paths of Parliamentary practice and I am confident that you all have wished to be so led and to conduct your business in a manner consonant with the highest traditions of Parliamentary procedure.

On you has fallen a very special responsibility—the responsibility of founding a tradition, and I congratulate you on the manner in which you have risen to the height of your great opportunity. Government and non-officials alike were unfamiliar with the new procedure and if mistakes have been made they were due to that unfamiliarity. But after all it is not so much the letter which matters, but the spirit—the spirit which giveth life. And what of the spirit which has informed your deliberations? I make bold to say that

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*Prorogation of the Reformed Indian Legislature at Delhi.*

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the tone and temper of your deliberations have been the outstanding feature of the past Session. Non-officials have shown a sense of balance and responsibility in their treatment of great questions, and the Government have endeavoured to give the fullest possible effect, consistent with their own responsibility to Parliament, to the governing principles of the new Constitution. The working of a Constitution, believe me, is no easy task. Any Constitution can be reduced to an absurdity if its constituent parts are unmindful of their responsibility to work it with good-will and fair play. British Constitutional institutions have flourished because of the spirit which has informed those who work them. It may interest you to be reminded of what Mr. Gladstone wrote of the British Constitution—"The British Constitution" he said "leaves open doors which lead into blind alleys; for it presumes more boldly than any other, the good sense and good faith of those who work it. If unhappily, these personages meet together, on the great arena of a nation's fortunes, as jockeys meet upon a race-course, each to urge to the uttermost, as against the other, the power of the animal he rides, or as counsel in Court, each to procure the victory of his client, without respect to any other interest or right; then this boasted Constitution of ours is neither more nor less than a heap of absurdities". Mr. Gladstone then goes on to depict how each portion of the Constitution could wreck the working of the whole by a strict adherence to the letter of its powers. He proceeds however—"But the assumption is that the depositaries of power will all respect one another; will evince a consciousness that they are working in a common interest for a common aim; that they will be possessed, together, with not less than an average intelligence, of not less than an average sense of equity and of public interest and rights."

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*Prorogation of the Reformed Indian Legislature at Delhi.*

It is in the spirit of this passage that my Government have approached the new Constitution. It is in the spirit of this passage that members have worked this Session. Even the British Constitution, as Mr. Gladstone has shown, may break down if it is worked in any way other than that of mutual respect and in a common interest for a common aim. It is, then, in the belief that it is with good sense and good-will that the new Constitution will be worked that I have faith in what I have set my hand to.

It is the first step which counts, and this first Session should go far to dispel the doubts of those who have looked upon our new constitutional departure with gloomy forebodings; it should go far to hearten those who are pledged to fight the constitutional cause against the forces of disorder and anarchy. But for those who have displayed such conspicuous wisdom and courage in launching the new Constitution on right lines, there still remains work to do. There is need for the spreading of the constitutional gospel in the country. You will then, I hope, in your recess make an organised effort to teach people what this reformed Constitution means; that real powers—not sham—are vested in the Councils, and how surely through these Councils progress must come.

And now it falls to my lot to bid you farewell. Before you meet again another will stand in my place, one who is marked out by achievement, by experience and by character as offering the promise of a great Viceroyalty. I know I can assure him of a warm and hearty reception on the part of you all. He will find difficulties to meet him, but they are, I think, less than they appeared likely to be some six or seven weeks ago. My constant thought and endeavour has been to smooth his path and in that I believe I have been in large measure successful. But I would not in saying this be unmind

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*Prorogation of the Reformed Indian Legislature at Delhi.*

ful of the mission of healing in which His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught played so conspicuous and great a part. India has had on many occasions reason to be grateful to its British Emperors. This last visit of His Royal Highness, taken at the instance and by command of His Majesty, is one more proof of the constant solicitude of His Majesty for the well-being of his Indian subjects.

We have gone through troublous times during the past five years, but I ask you to look upon India's position in the Empire and at home in 1916 and to-day. She has now an assured position in the Imperial Cabinet and her sons voice her views at its meetings. At home Indians occupy the highest posts in Government, are responsible for the policy in those subjects which go to promote a country's well-being and in the rest exercise a far-reaching influence. In the sphere of the Indian Legislature you know your powers and in the Provincial Councils the powers and responsibility are even greater.

And all this has been accomplished during a period disturbed by war and the aftermath of war ; nor was it at the expense of India's effort, for no one can gainsay that effort nor its decisive influence upon the war. My participation in your affairs is now at an end. It has been a high privilege to have been your Governor-General during this great epoch. It is for you now to justify our great adventure. I have no fear that you will fall short of what is required of you. What is well begun is half done. Continue to exhibit the courage, the sobriety, the sense of responsibility of this first Session and there can be no doubt that your labours will not be in vain. I commend both you and them to the guidance of divine Providence.

I now declare this Session prorogued.

*Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.*FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM THE BOMBAY CHAMBER OF  
COMMERCE.

1st April 1921. Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford, accompanied by their staff, left Delhi for Bombay on the afternoon of the 29th March *en route* for England. On the morning of the 1st April His Excellency the Viceroy received a Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and in replying, said :—

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen*,—As your address has pointed out, this is the third occasion on which I have had the pleasure of receiving an address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. No one in 1916 could have foreseen the immense strides which India has made constitutionally during these past five years, and I know that when at the end of 1917 Mr. Montagu and I had an interview with your Chamber, neither of us anticipated that we should be able to bring the new Constitution into being and working so soon as 1921. It is ~~that~~ with very great pride and satisfaction that to-day I look upon the new Constitution not only embodied in an Act of Parliament, but tested by the experience of the first session which is just coming to a close throughout India. I could wish that the general public had expressed greater appreciation of the work done by the men who have accomplished this remarkable feat. It was one thing to outline a constitution and to lay down its principles; quite another to translate those principles into the numerous sections of an Act and the multifarious rules and regulations necessary to make the constitution a living reality. This was the work of many officials throughout India—at headquarters and in the provinces, and those officials have laid India under a deep debt of gratitude for the work which they did under conditions of great pressure and of a time-limit. I acted myself as Member for Reforms

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*Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.*

in the Central Government, and so had ample opportunity of seeing at close quarters the admirable work which was done.

I must also express my great satisfaction at the manner in which the new Indian Legislature and the new Provincial Councils have carried through the work of the opening sessions. They have shown a sense of balance and responsibility which has been beyond all praise, and if our new Constitution continues to be worked in the spirit of good-will which has marked the opening sessions, I have full confidence in the success which will crown the new Constitution.

I am glad to accept your congratulations on the share that India bore in the victorious conclusion of the Great War, but the problems which have faced us since the Armistice have been even more difficult than those which we had to tackle during the war itself. During the war the Government could rely on the full and absolute support of all people, even though they might differ from some of the actions which Government thought necessary to take. With, however, the cessation of war, criticism naturally resumed its place in our daily life, and Government could no longer expect that solid support which it had received during the war. I would, however, impress on people generally that many of the problems which we have to face are not peculiar to India alone, but depend upon factors which are world-wide and beyond the control of the Government of India. No one will realise this more fully than you, gentlemen, who are connected with the commerce of this country, and so are cognisant of world affairs. I am glad to learn from you that there has been a breaking-down of the barrier that in the past divided Government from commerce, and that cordial relations have not only existed but have even improved between the heads of the

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*Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.*

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administration and the principal Chambers of Commerce and non-official organisations connected with trade during the past five years. This is largely due to the sympathetic and tactful handling of these questions by the retiring Member for Commerce and Industry, Sir George Barnes, and I was glad to see that at a dinner given to him by commercial men in Delhi his services to commerce in India were so warmly recognised. No one knows better than I how keenly he has thrown himself into the work of his Department and how readily he has placed his knowledge and long experience of trade matters at the disposal of all who wished to get his advice.

The Government of India at Delhi and Simla are far removed from the centres of commercial activity, but I have always encouraged my colleagues to tour and keep in touch with the Provinces. I appreciate then your reference to the closer touch between commerce and Government during my tenure of office. It has been my constant endeavour to achieve this result.

I am afraid that at the present moment trade conditions are depressing, but I am confident that if only a method can be devised by which the countries which wish to trade with India can be enabled to find credit, all India's difficulties will pass away. The world has need of India's products, and I am sure that every effort must be made to devise a credit system under which our goods may be bought by foreign countries.

The Great War brought one good thing to India ; it forced India to take stock of her industrial resources, and the experience gained in this way, coupled with the illuminating and

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*Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.*

comprehensive survey of the industries of the country given by the Industrial Commission, ought to give a wonderful stimulus to industrial development.

I leave India then full of hope as to its future. Through our Constitutional Reforms I look forward to a better understanding and a closer co-operation between Government and non-officials.

I see a world asking for India's products and I accept no bounds to the possibilities of future trade, not only in raw material, but in the finished articles the products of an industrial renaissance.

Through partnership in Government and trade British and Indians should come closer together and I see misunderstandings removed and unity and harmony prevail. To understand is to forgive, and there can be no greater bond of unity than that which comes from the understanding which is the result of partnership in work.

I thank you for the good wishes which you have expressed in relation to my wife and myself. I shall always watch with the greatest interest and sympathy the fortunes of India in the spheres of constitutional progress and of commercial and industrial development.













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